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ABSTRACT

Six papers on Irish English are presented. "The Study of Hiberno-English" (Jeffrey L. Kallen) surveys some aspects of research on the language and offers a historical context for the subsequent papers. "A Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English in Its Context" (T. M. Tilling) reports on the early stages of an island-wide survey of the English speech of Ireland, combining traditional dialect geography and sociolinguistics. In "Linguistic Cross-Links in Phonology and Grammar" (G. B. Adams), the phonological and grammatical similarities between Irish and English resulting from extended language contact and bilingualism are examined. "The Hiberno-English 'I've It Eaten' Construction: What Is It and Where Does It Come From?" (John Harris) looks in greater detail at the Irish influence evident in one construction. Problems created by differences in structure in Irish and English are examined in "Observations on Thematic Interference Between Irish and English" (Markku Filppula), and "A Global View of the English Language in Ireland" (Kallen) urges a broader-based approach to the study of Hiberno-English than that commonly adopted, incorporating examination of all grammar and discourse phenomena, bilingualism, sociolinguistics, and reference to other English variations, not just standard English usage. (16 references) (MSE)

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Papers on Irish English

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RÉAMHRÁ/INTRODUCTION

Tá sé beartaithe ag Cumann na Teangeolaíochta Feidhmí — IRAAL eagrán faoi leith ina bhfuil altanna ar Bhéarla na hÉireann a fhoilsiú. Cuireadh an mhórchuid de na haltanna seo i láthair ag cruinnithe de chuid an chumainn agus foilsíodh ina dhiaidh sin iad i dTEANGA 2/3 Iris bhliantúil IRAAL. Scríobhadh dhá pháipéar d'aonturas don eagrán seo agus tugann siad léargas ginearálta ar an taighde a rinneadh agus atá á dhéanamh ar Bhéarla na hÉireann le céad bliain anuas.

Cé gur shocraigh muid *'Papers on Irish English'* a thabhairt ar an eagrán seo, is léir don té a léann na haltanna go bhfuil mórán téarmaí difriúla in úsáid ag údair agus iad ag caint faoi Bhéarla na hÉireann. Is minic na téarmaí céanna ag teacht trasna ar a chéile agus cé go mbaineann údair úsáid faoi leith astu is minic na téarmaí inmhalartaithe. Ar na téarmaí sin tá ÷ Hiberno-English, Irish-English, Anglo-Irish agus The English Language in Ireland. Tuigeann siadsan atá ag obair ar Bhéarla na hÉireann na bríonna éagsúla atáthar a bhaint as na téarmaí sin ach bíodh an té atá aineolach ar a fhaichill rompu agus baineadh sé an chiall a bhí intuigthe ag an údar astu.

Coimriú ar an Ábhar:
Tugann an chéad dá alt le *Jeffrey Kallen* agus *Philip Tilling* léargas lán agus ginearálta ar thaighde an Bhéarla na hÉireann ó thús agus le fiche bliain anuas, ach go háirithe. Ag déileáil le Béarla dheisceart na hÉireann atá *Kallen* agus is ar Bhéarla thuaisceart Éireann atá *Tilling* ag trácht.

Pléann *Adams* le deacrachtaí fóneolaíochta a tháinig chun cinn de bharr an cheangail a bhí idir An Ghaeilge agus an Béarla i dtuaisceart Éireann le ceithre chéad bliain. Is le cúrsaí comhréire agus le tionchar na bunsraithe Gaeilge atá *Filppula* agus *Harris* ag plé. San alt deiridh deir *Kallen* gur cheart Béarla na hÉireann a scrúdú i gcomhthéacs domhanda nó uilíoch agus cuireann sé béim ar leith ar argóinti teoiriciúla a bhféadfadh tionchar agus impleachaí a bheith acu ar fhorbairt theoiricí teangeolaíochta.

Ar deireadh ba mhaith le IRAAL a mórbhuíochas a chur in iúl do Bhord na Gaeilge as ucht caitheamh chomh fial sin linn agus an t-ábhar seo a chlóchur dúinn saor in aisce.

IRAAL has decided to publish a collection of papers on Irish English. Most of the articles were given at IRAAL seminars and subsequently published in TEANGA 2/3, IRAAL's annual journal. Two papers have been specially written for this collection and give a general overview of past and current research on Hiberno-English.

Although we have decided to call the collection *'Papers on Irish English'* it will be obvious from a reading of the articles that different people use different terms to refer to the English language as spoken in Ireland. Such terms are often conflicting and different authors use them in different ways and in many cases are interchangable. Among the terms encountered in the text are Hiberno-English, Irish English, Anglo-Irish and The English Language in Ireland. Those engaged in

research on Irish English here in Ireland are aware of these different usages but to the outsider they may seem confusing and we think their meaning should be interpreted in the spirit their authors had intended.

Summary of Contents

The first two contributions by *Jeffrey Kallen* and *Philip Tilling* give a general and compact overview of research on Irish English over the years and especially in the last two decades. *Kallen's* paper deals for the most part with research carried out in the South of Ireland while *Tilling's* article deals mostly with research on the English dialects in the North of Ireland.

Adam's contribution deals with phonological problems encountered in the contact between the Irish language and English in the North of Ireland during the last four centuries. *Filppula* and *Harris's* contributions deal with problems of Irish English syntax and with substratum influence from Irish. The last paper by *Kallen* suggests that the English as spoken in Ireland should be viewed in a world-wide context and his paper in particular addresses itself to theoretical arguments which have wider implications for the development of linguistic theory.

In conclusion IRAAL wishes to thank Bord na Gaeilge for their generous offering to typeset this collection for us free of charge.

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The Study of Hiberno-English

Jeffrey L. Kallen
Trinity College Dublin

Introduction

Three major points of view can be distinguished in the study of the English language in Ireland: (1) historical-descriptive, (2) bilingual, and (3) theoretical. Many works combine these viewpoints, but the primary thrust of most writings on the subject can usually be classified fairly easily. These classes cut across different levels of style and types of audience: treatments of Hiberno-English run from the purely popular and anecdotal to the rigourously theoretical, with a great deal falling between these extremes. This paper surveys some of the more important aspects of Hiberno-English research, providing a historical context for the articles which are collected in this volume.

Historical-descriptive studies

Very few dialect studies of the sort done for Irish or for British and American varieties of English have been written for Hiberno-English. Most descriptive work has concentrated on selected linguistic features of either a particular locality, or of general Hiberno-English. Though some attempts have been made at 'pure' description, particularly in the compilation of local glossaries, most writers have been concerned with two major issues: the degree to which Hiberno-English is influenced by Irish, and the degree to which it reflects retentions or developments from earlier 'standard' English. These two concerns have been maintained from the earliest descriptive writings to the present, sometimes reflecting and sometimes remaining isolated from changes in linguistic theory and methodology.

In keeping with the general tone of late 18th and of most 19th century dialectology, the first systematic studies of Hiberno-English were concerned with 'archaic' aspects, particularly in the dialect of the Baronies of Forth and Bargy in Co. Wexford. The earliest of such studies, Vallancey (1788), emphasised the way in which the descendents of the first Anglo-Norman settlers there had 'preserved their ancient manners, customs, and language', including 'some original songs' (pp. 21-22). Jacob Poole compiled a glossary of the Forth and Bargy English of 1823-24 (Poole 1867, p. 11), while Hore (1859, 1862;63a,b) published 17th century accounts of South Wexford, particularly of Forth and Bargy. Russell (1858) also published a history of Forth, while William Barnes edited and published Poole's glossary (Poole 1867). This latter work is the most complete single study of Forth and Bargy English, containing a general account of the area, the earlier observations of Richard

Stanyhurst, Vallancey, and Russell, and a version of Poole's glossary which has been enlarged by material from Vallancey, Stanyhurst, and Hore. A more recent treatment of this dialect is found in Ó Muirithe (1977a), though this work is based mostly on the earlier sources. All of these works represent essentially the same concern to trace the history of the Forth and Bargy settlements, and to view their distinctive dialect as a relic of the Anglo-Norman settlement.

It was not until Hume (1858) that the scope of Hiberno-English study was widened to include Ireland as a whole. Hume (1858) described the English of the time as 'not much older' than the 19th century: in noting that 'many of the characteristic terms of it are now disappearing' (p. 51), he urged the further study of Irish-English on the grounds that 'if another generation were permitted to pass away, the character and interest of the Hibernic dialect would, it is to be feared, be practically lost forever' (p. 53).

By 1872, contributions were regularly being made by a variety of authors to **Notes and Queries** regarding what were known variously as 'Ulster Peculiarities' (S.T.P. 1874, p. 465), 'Irish Provincialisms' (H. Hall 1872, p. 97), or 'An Ulster Perversion' (S.T.P. 1877, p. 406; D.C.T. 1877, p. 456). Though these contributions usually pertain to a few words or phrases at most, some of the arguments which their authors advance are current in today's debates. Note, for example, the discussion between S.T.P. (1877, p. 406) and D.C.T. (1877, p. 456) on the possible historical source of Hiberno-English **want** (e.g., **I will not want it**, 'do without it').

Hume (1878) was the first to lay out systematic proposals for studying Hiberno-English, identifying three main approaches: (1) the historical, (2) the 'anatomical', i.e., an examination of the dialect's 'internal peculiarities', and (3) the comparative (p. 5). Hume (1878, p. 6) also argued that it was only from the 19th century, when English had become 'the recognised language of the country', that it was possible to examine a national variety of English.

The 19th century spread and entrenchment of English was reflected, by the end of the century, in a flurry of prescriptive works (e.g., [Stoney] 1885; **Common Errors in Pronunciation** 1894) and in various attempts to undertake more comprehensive surveys than the previous localised or anecdotal reports. P.W. Joyce published notices in a number of periodicals, appealing to the public for 'lists of such peculiar forms of expression as are used in their several localities' (Joyce 1892, p. 57). The correspondence which he recieved from all over Ireland helped to enable Joyce to publish the first substantial book on Irish English (Joyce 1910).

In the meantime, however, Burke (1896, p. 694) had already noted the 'strange fact that the Anglo-Irish dialect has been entirely overlooked' in comparison to the dialects of England, and discussed

in greater detail than anyone had previously the balance between the influence of Irish and the survival of earlier forms of English in contemporary Hiberno-English. Hayden and Hartog (1909) also presented a study of major significance, noting and describing (pp. 775;76) the historical effects of 17th century English, borrowing from Irish, and innovations 'that have arisen from imperfect assimilation of the alien tongue'. They further observed that many constructions and lexical items taken from Irish 'occur ... in regions where Irish has not been spoken for generations' (p. 777), concluding (p. 941) that 'it is hardly necessary to insist that these Celtic locutions in English-speaking districts are in no way direct conscious translations from the Gaelic, for this is an unknown tongue'. Hayden and Hartog's conclusion, coming in an early descriptive article, is useful as a point of departure for any modern study, where synchronic language transfer effects among bilinguals must be carefully differentiated from the diachronic influence of earlier transfers or contact phenomena on subsequent generations of essentially monoglot speakers of Hiberno-English.

More anecdotal and less rigourous than Hayden and Hartog, Joyce (1910) is important for presenting an eclectic range of information and for Joyce's attempt to draw together the nationwide picture of Hiberno-English which he had gathered from his informants. Joyce (1910) discussed the history of the dialect, considering both Irish and earlier forms of English, as well as current aspects of syntax and phonetics. A large part of the book is concerned with idiomatic phrases and folkspeech (gathered under headings such as 'proverbs', 'swearing', 'exaggeration and redundancy', and 'comparisons'), and with descriptions of traditional practices and beliefs. A glossary is also included.

Though Joyce's (1910) work was generally well received, it came in for criticisms which raised questions still unsolved in current research. The anonymous reviewer in **Notes and Queries** (1910, p. 499), for example, questioned the validity of Joyce's inventory of 'Irish' expressions, noting the inclusion of such 'perfectly good English phrases' as **It is raining, to be without a penny,** and **This is the way I did it.** The anonymous reviewer in **The Athenaeum** (1910, pp. 517-18) criticised Joyce's emphasis on the supposed influence of Irish in Hiberno-English, arguing that some putatively Irish-based expressions were 'used by Irish Protestants in the North whose ancestors had never spoken Irish, nor did they themselves ever hear one word of it.'

Several further contributions may be noted prior to the major study by Hogan (1927). Van Hamel (1912) presented one of the more grammatically-oriented and less anecdotal studies of his time, stressing particularly the effect of language contact on Hiberno-English, and making the general observation (p. 291) that 'when we

observe the thorough modification English was subject to in Irish speech, there is no doubt that many syntactical characteristics of our Indo-European tongues could be explained in the same way.' Curtis (1919) initiated the study of the linguistic history of population groups in Ireland, concentrating on the introduction and decline of mediaeval Hiberno-English, and its relationship to Irish, Latin and Anglo-Norman French. In a work that is largely historical and descriptive, with a strong emphasis as well on the 'Irish influence,' Younge (1922-27) presented a lengthy compilation of glossaries, syntactic examples, and historical discussions of particular words and phrases.

Drawing on a large number of historical documents, Hogan (1927) discussed not only the linguistic characteristics of mediaeval Hiberno-English, but the spread, use, and disuse of English from the Middle Ages onward. This book is thus the first attempt to bring together the demographic approach suggested by Curtis (1919) with the philological studies of earlier writers. Observing (p. 54) that modern Hiberno-English did not become widespread until the end of the 18th century, nor 'victorious' until the middle of the 19th century, Hogan (1927, p. 62) offered the following characterisation of the contemporary situation: 'consider the general uniformity of the English spoken in Ireland; showing everywhere the same influence of Irish speech (greater of course as we approach the Irish-speaking districts), and the same English archisms. Common Anglo-Irish is a reality.' While concentrating largely on the reconstructed phonology of older Hiberno-English, Hogan (1927) also discussed some aspects of morphology and syntax, yielding a more systematic and comprehensive picture of Hiberno-English history than any previous account.

Hogan (1944) continued with suggestions for the further collection and publication of dialect glossaries and related materials, laying down (p. 187) three necessary phases for the study of Hiberno-English: (1) the 'examination of living speech in various localities,' (2) the 'examination of all written records' of the dialect, and (3) 'the synthesis of all the information thus gathered in a dictionary and grammar, and perhaps an atlas.' Antoine Meillet, quoted by Vendryes (1937, p. 184), had earlier suggested that an Irish linguistic atlas be compiled which would include both Irish and English. Such a suggestion was also made by Wagner (1948-52), who noted that in an Irish linguistic atlas, 'the inclusion of Anglo-Irish, which is recommended by all competent critics, should make the project a very fruitful one' (p. 29). Nevertheless, apart from two glossaries which appeared with detailed commentary by Hogan (Ua Broin 1944; O'Neill 1947) and the Donegal glossary of Traynor (1953), neither Hogan's suggestions nor Wagner's plan to construct a combined Irish and English linguistic atlas met with success.

In his study of Roscommon English, Henry (1957, p. 3) remarks that though he had originally envisaged a glossary along the lines suggested by Hogan (1944), the work subsequently developed into a much larger description of the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the dialect of the townland of Cloongreghan. Following a brief historical introduction and some commentary on the relationship between local dialects and what he terms 'Common Anglo-Irish' (pp. 3-16), Henry presents a discussion (pp.21-109) of phonetics and morphology in the dialect which is roughly structuralist in its approach, though Henry's emphasis is primarily on description rather than analysis. As with phonology and morphology, his interest is largely descriptive, though some attempt is made, for example, to formulate a systemic view of the use of tense and aspect in his data (Henry 1957), pp. 161-178). Henry's (1957) study is still the only thorough descriptive study of a single local dialect to be published thus far.

Henry (1958) broadened the scope of the 1957 study, including more historical discussion and attempting to survey Ireland as a whole. As the subtitle 'Preliminary Report' suggests, Henry (1958) intended a following atlas-type project, but one never materialised in published form.

Only relatively minor works of description, other than that of Ó hAnnracháin (1964), discussed below under 'Bilingual approaches,' appeared in the late 1950s and the 1960s. Conway (1959a,b,c) continued the tradition of the amateur collector of dialect material, though her work benefits from the more analytical studies which had been published earlier. Despite an avowed amateurism (1959c, p. 172), Conway's work is solidly in the historical-descriptive framework, citing the effects of syntactic and lexical borrowing from Irish, the carryover of older English elements in contemporary speech, and the existence of new coinages to refer to local conditions and events. MacLochlainn (1960) presented a general discussion of the history and background of Dublin English, concentrating on a glossary compiled from the popular songbooks produced by James Kearney in the middle of the 19th century. Bliss (1965) discussed some textual features of 49 inscribed slates found in Smarmore, Co. Louth which he argued date from the first half of the 15th century. McIntosh and Samuels (1968) referred to a variety of mediaeval texts from Ireland, noting the difficulties involved in making comparisons with English texts when variation in scribal practice and the possible effects of bilingualism are taken into account.

In the winter of 1973, RTÉ broadcast a series of Thomas Davis lectures devoted to the English language in Ireland. The lectures covered historical, linguistic, and literary matters, and were edited by Ó Muirithe (1977b). A number of different points of view and subjects were brought together for the first time, although as Ó

Muirithe (1977b, p. 5) points out, the book was 'not intended to be a comprehensive treatment of 800 years of dialectal development in Ireland.'

In the initial essay of this collection, Bliss (1977b) discusses the history of Hiberno-English along familiar lines, relying on literary sources, census estimates, and prescriptive works for his documentation. Henry (1977) refines the historical discussion and provides 'a representative specimen of Anglo-Irish text ... from current speech in an area of County Galway,' in order to serve 'as a basis for our analysis and description of that language' (p. 25). Quin's (1977) contribution is particularly noteworthy as it is the first, and nearly the only, published history of Hiberno-English studies. Quin (1977) discusses in particular the work of Vallancey, Poole, and Joyce, as well as Joseph Wright's **English Dialect Dictionary.** Bringing his discussion to the present, Quin (1977) also notes the work of G.B. Adams on Ulster English and the various contributions of P.L. Henry.

More localised studies in Ó Muirithe (1977b) include Adams (1977) on Ulster dialects and Ó Muirithe's (1977a) work on the English of Forth and Bargy. De Fréine (1977) discusses demographic characteristics of the shift from Irish to English, while Garvin (1977) and Kiely (1977) review the uses of Irish-English in literature. (For further treatments of literary uses of Hiberno-English, see Taniguchi 1956 and Goeke and Kornelius 1976.)

Jonathan Swift's brief and unpublished satirical 'Dialogue in Hibernian Stile,' dating from ca. 1735, was edited by Bliss (1977a), who, in addition to presenting Swift's texts, detailed the linguistic background of the composition. Supplementing the better-known history from the Anglo-Norman to the Cromwellian period, Bliss (1977a) relies on Irish materials which had not been examined by other writers on Hiberno-English. Quoting from the 17th century **Páirlimint Chloinne Tomáis** and from Seán Ó Neachtain's **Stair Eamuinn Uí Chléire,** which dates from ca. 1715, Bliss (1977a) portrays 17th and 18th century Ireland as largely Irish-speaking, with a substantial penetration of Irish at all levels of society. In a conjectural interpretation of anecdotal evidence, he concludes (p. 41) that 'in the early seventeenth century Irish must have been the common vernacular of Dublin,' suggesting too that 'the same was still true 150 years later.' In his discussion of Swift's satire of contemporary colonist English, Bliss (1977a) notes both 'colloquialisms' and other categories which are not specifically Irish, as well as words and idioms originating in or primarily associated with Ireland. The study includes a commentary on selected words and phrases in the texts.

Bliss (1979) continued his previous investigations of literary sources, particlarly drama, for the reconstruction of earlier Hiberno-English.

Though Bartley (1954) had already discussed the dramatic representation of Irish characters from the 16th to the 19th centuries, Bliss (1979) was more focused in trying to re-create actual speech forms on the basis of the evidence in plays and other literary works. Presenting and commenting on 27 texts from the early 17th to the middle of the 18th century, Bliss (1979, p. 285) suggests that bilingualism in the formative period of Hiberno-English brought about 'the permanent transfer of some of the "rules" of the primary to the secondary language,' thus yielding a new 'form of speech.' As in Bliss (1977a), Bliss (1979, p. 325) emphasises the decline of English prior to the late 18th century, commenting that Hiberno-English was 'practically extinct' by the end of the fifteenth century. In his conclusions, Bliss (1979, p. 324) also offers a geographical breakdown of the regional dialects which he claims are represented in the texts, attempting to correlate hypothetical phonemic-graphemic correspondences with the facts of English and Irish dialectology.

Though the work of Joyce (1910) had been reprinted in a facsimile edition in 1968, it was further republished in 1979 with a historical preface by Dolan (1979). Dolan's introduction provides details of Joyce's life as well as a survey of other major works of Hiberno-English scholarship. Dolan's comment (p. xxiii) that 'the reader will have to engage in much cross-checking' of sources 'if he wishes to build up a composite picture of striking phenomena' in Hiberno-English accurately reflects the current lack of any comprehensive work on the subject.

The seminar on the English language in Ireland sponsored by the Irish Association of Applied Linguistics in 1980, papers from which form the bulk of this volume, reflected the growing interest in Hiberno-English at the time. In the following year, Barry (1981) edited a collection of papers from the Tape-recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech based in Belfast, which had begun field research in 1975. Though most of the articles in the collection pertain to Ulster dialects, whose different linguistic history precludes a discussion in this short paper, one may note in particular Tilling's (1981) profile of age-related variation in Kinlough, Co. Leitrim.

The most recent historical-descriptive works on Hiberno-English outside of Ulster are those of Barry (1983) and Bliss (1884a,b). Barry (1983) is especially significant for appearing in a collection of papers devoted to English as a 'world language,' thus moving Hiberno-English into comparison with worldwide varieties of English. Barry (1983) covers roughly the same ground as Henry and Bliss in a general survey of Hiberno-English, though his history includes some differences of detail, and his discussion of syntax and phonology uses examples from Ulster as well as, to a lesser degree, the rest of Ireland. Bliss (1984a) recapitulates the decline of mediaeval Hiberno-English, while Bliss (1984b) offers a review of Hiberno-English in the

southern part of Ireland, following the lines established in his earlier work.

Bilingual approaches

Though nearly every work on Hiberno-English discusses its relationship to Irish, those which I have termed 'bilingual' are focused not on the English language as influenced by Irish, but on the specifically Irish-based elements in contemporary Hiberno-English. Perhaps the first such contribution is found in the results of a competition sponsored by **Irisleabhar na Gaedhilge** under the heading 'Irish words in the spoken English of Leinster (1900-01, 1902). The introduction to this series (1900-01, p. 93) states that 'the object of the competition was to draw attention to a very ready means of acquiring a vocabulary of Irish words,' noting as well that 'even the constructions in which these words are used is commonly Irish.' Though no attempts at historical or linguistic analysis are made in these word lists, they provide the raw materials for elucidating the lexical links between Irish and some varieties of Hiberno-English.

Such lists were followed in the 1920s by a number of similar works, reflecting in various ways and localities the transition in popular speech from Irish to English. Ní Eochaidh (1922, p. 140) noted the mixture of Irish and English among speakers in Co. Clare, observing: 'Is dóigh liom nach raibh fhios ag mórán dóibh ciaca Gaedhilge nó Béarla a bí labhairt aca.' Gaedheal (1922) presented a list of Irish words heard in the English of Laois. The anonymous editor of a series of articles in **An Sguab** ('Comórtas' 1922-23, 1923-25), in which lists of Irish words in English were solicited from readers, prefaced the articles with the view that 'Tá an-chuid focail Gaedhilge in úsáid ag muintir na h-Éireann agus an beurla dá labhairt acu, fiú i n-áiteanna 'na bhfuil an Gaedhealg tréis bháis le trí fichid bliadhan nó níos mó' ('Comórtas' 1922-23, p. 203). Like the 'Irish words' competition, these articles all stressed the continuity between Irish and Hiberno-English via large-scale lexical borrowing.

Henry (1960-61) further examined grammatical transfer from Irish to Hiberno-English. Looking primarily at nouns and nominal expressions, he was able to limit his analytical task in some ways, though the precise mechanism by which such transfer could be said to occur is nowhere spelled out. Similarly, Bliss (1972) took up the question of cross-language transfer in Hiberno-English phonology and syntax. Despite a general historical introduction, Bliss's (1972) orientation is towards those elements which he considers to be derived clearly from Irish. Bliss (1972) is also vague about the mechanism by which transfer is supposed to occur, using, for example, a highly abstract analogy betwen Irish verb forms ending in **-eann** and Hiberno-English **do** + **be** constructions in order to account for the latter (pp. 77ff).

Between Henry (1960-61) and Bliss (1972), Ó hAnnracháin (1964) published one of the most ambitious glossaries of Irish words in the vernacular English of a district in which Irish had relatively recently ceased to be the common spoken language. Ó hAnnracháin (1964, pp. 1-16) discusses the linguistic history of the region he investigates, in addition to giving observations on the types of words he collected. The glossary is extensive, illustrating much more phonological, morphological, and syntactic detail than in similar works. Though Ó hAnnracháin (1964, pp. 14, 15) points out that his study does not concern the dialect of the region as a whole, nor the mechanisms of language transfer, the data he presents are useful to any study of how such transfer may have occurred.

Henry's (1977) work is one of the more pointed discussions of the connection with Irish. The dialect samples he presents are set alongside 'standard English' equivalents and translations in Irish, in order to show the close similarity between the Hiberno-English and the Irish forms. Henry (1977, p. 36) reflects on the relationship between the two languages as follows:

> Such then is the meaning of Anglo-Irish in the first instance: language forming on the same base as corresponding Irish structures, with native intonation and pronunciation and a foraging for English materials. Would you call the material I have quoted here a kind of Irish or a kind of English? The view that it is a kind of Irish, in fact, English-Irish or Anglo-Irish derives from attention to the generative or creative aspect of language. The view that it is a kind of English depends on its utilisation of English materials and on the prospect of an eventual watering down if not all of the Irish elements in classic Anglo-Irish.

Most recently, the works by Lunny (1981) and Ní Ghallchóir (1981) describe local conditions and manifestations of language contact in the Gaeltacht areas of Ballyvourney, Co. Cork and the Upper Rosses in Northwest Co. Donegal respectively. Though both these studies are fairly general, having originally been given as conference papers, they describe modern communities in which the Irish of native speakers is in contact with English, significant for the ways in which the contact phenomena they exhibit can be compared with the historical phenomena that have become a part of common Hiberno-English.

Linguistic theory and Hiberno-English

If, as Dolan (1979, p. xxiii) suggests, there is no comprehensive descriptive study of Hiberno-English, still less is there a common theoretical paradigm for investigating it. Few works have tried to make an explicit connection between aspects of Hiberno-English and linguistic theory, and even fewer have tried to use the grammar of Hiberno-English in evaluating linguistic hypotheses. Nevertheless,

as some authors have pointed out, there is quite considerable scope for relating the study of Hiberno-English to general linguistic theory and, in particular, to theories of language variation, contact, and change.

R.A. Breathnach (1958, p. 67) in reviewing Henry (1957), noted that 'in the mixed linguistic milieu which exists in Ireland we have at hand a field of research which, properly exploited, could be the means of building up a thriving school of linguistic science.' Similarly, Sommerfelt (1960) attached great value to Henry's (1957) work, stating (p. 743) that 'the book is indispensible to those who want to study how mixed or remodelled languages originate,' offering comparisons between Hiberno-English and Norwegian, and urging that studies be undertaken of English-speaking districts in Scotland and Wales and of French-speaking areas of Brittany.

Somewhat later, Hill (1962), in a discussion following from Henry (1957), took a brief look at some issues of theoretical interest in structural phonology, comparing Henry's 'European' approach with Hill's American structuralist position. Hill (1962, p. 24) suggested that his re-analysis of Henry's data 'demonstrated that some degree of convergence and genuine communication is possible between schools of linguistics which are widely separated.' With this aim in mind, Hill's (1962) article gives a good picture of how the structuralist phonology of the time could be applied to Hiberno-English data.

From the time of Hill (1962) to the 1980s, there were very few published attempts to pursue or even raise interest in the link between Hiberno-English and linguistic theory. R.B. Breathnach (1964, p. 238) noted that 'the study of the contact between Irish and English may be looked upon as a contribution to the study of language contact in general,' while Delahunty (1977, p. 145) argued that 'we ought to be concerned with the development and testing of new and interesting hypotheses concerning language and social life, and ... with the proper exploration of our own bilingual situation and its typological uniqueness.'

The papers by Kallen (1981) and Harris (1983) which form part of this volume both raise questions which had not previously been considered in connection with Hiberno-English. Henry (1981, p. 320) also observed that Bliss (1979) 'having posed a **linguistic** problem of a basic kind, turns away from the linguistic perspective which has been forged precisely to deal with this problem,' ending up with an approach that is 'narrowly philological.' Instead, Henry (1981, p. 321) urged, the study of spoken English in the 17th and 18 centuries 'should operate with **systems** and **structures** ... and the historical treatment should be reduced in favour of the structural.'

The generally non-committal application of theory to Hiberno-English study is well illustrated by Hickey's (1982) discussion of some characteristics of Hiberno-English syntax. In offering 'Irish equivalents of the Hiberno-English constructions' which he presents, Hickey 'chooses to leave it up to the reader whether he regards transfer as a plausible explanation of their emergence' (p. 39). Later admitting (pp. 44-45) that 'one cannot establish with certainty that interference has taken place' and that 'my presentation which favours an interference hypothesis obviously sheds in many respects a too favourable light on the possibility of transfer,' Hickey (1982) can also be seen to 'turn away from the linguistic perspective' in a work which is ostensibly analytical.

The issues of contact effects and theories of linguistic variation are among those discussed by Harris (1984). In examining the theoretical concern of the degree to which different dialects, such as Hiberno-English and 'standard' English, share underlying grammatical similarity, Harris (1984) further analyses the possible historical sources of the Hiberno-English tense and aspect system. Considering contemporary English-language data from Belfast, the syntax of Irish, and other dialectal forms of English, Harris (1984) is able to argue cogently that at least some of the aspectual categories often ascribed to the influence of Irish may have their origins in parallel forms found in early Modern English. In setting up tense-aspect systems for both Hiberno-English and standard English, Harris (1984) is also able to argue that superficial similarities between the two dialects can cover over more fundamental differences. Though the data which Harris (1984) examines cover familiar territory, the degree to which Harris (1984) uses linguistic theory in constructing grammars, offering possible historical reconstructions, and evaluating the 'panlectal identity' hypothesis places his work in a unique category in Hiberno-English study.

Conclusion

There is virtually no area of research on Hiberno-English which can be said to be completed. In the field of basic description, for example, despite the many glossaries and word lists which have been published, no attempt has been made to compile a Hiberno-English dialect dictionary on historical or other principles. Such a dictionary would be essential for the historical reconstruction of Hiberno-English. Although the broad outlines of linguistic shift in Ireland have been known for years, there have been no detailed studies of the social setting or demographic characteristics of this shift in particular regions or in the nation as a whole. (Though see Kallen (to appear) for some suggestions in this regard.) Synchronic descriptive studies of speech communities are still lacking.

In regard to bilingualism and language contact in Irish English, there is perhaps an even bigger field, relying both on description and on the

development of suitable theoretical models. The criteria by which to separate true contact effects in bilingual speakers from historical restructurings of English grammar which may have occurred in bilingual environments or which may result from convergent developments within English have yet to be developed. Formulating such criteria would be valuable not only for the analysis of Hiberno-English, but in answering questions in the general study of language contact, creolisation, and change. The political and ideological issues confronted in examining Hiberno-English and its relation to Irish have not even been touched on in this review, largely because they have only rarely and briefly been dealt with by others.

The further study of Hiberno-English may be of value not only for the description of a segment of Irish life, but for the development of general linguistics. This value can only be realised, though, with the development of adequate paradigms for description and research.

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A Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English in its Context

P.M. Tilling
University of Ulster at Coleraine

The period from 1972 to the present day has witnessed a considerable expansion of scholarly interest in the English dialects of the north of Ireland (particularly) and, to a lesser extent, the whole of Ireland. Before this, research was restricted to a handful of scholars, most importantly *G.B. Adams*, *J. Braidwood* and *R.J. Gregg* in Ulster and *A.J. Bliss* and *P.L. Henry* in the south.[1] All these scholars continued their work throughout the seventies and eighties, but were joined by others who, while remaining deeply indebted to the groundwork established by them, have extended the collection of data, often on the basis of different principles, and have subjected it to linguistic analyses which have both confirmed and amplified the conclusions reached earlier.

Not surprisingly, the new research approaches have often been inspired by dialect research conducted elsewhere, notably North America and Britain. This has led, for instance, to the investigation of the various social factors which have been shown to underlie linguistic variation within a particular community; an approach which has contributed to our understanding of language change and which has led to detailed descriptions of the range of socially-determined linguistic forms which constitute local speech. To some extent also, the work of the sociolinguist was an expression of dissatisfaction with earlier 'traditional' dialect research of the large-scale survey kind. Such work had usually been conducted by scholars whose outlook was largely historical and who wished not only to record local linguistic forms, but also to relate these to their historical sources, showing the extent to which these forms conformed tó, or departed from, the sources. This historical interest also meant that items chosen for investigation were drawn largely from those which illustrated the development of earlier contrasts in the language. Also, given the large number of localities to be investigated in a large-scale regional survey and the increased pressures for linguistic change in the present day (through increased travel, education, and the widespread availability and influence of the media), these surveys also commonly investigated the speech of the rural elderly, who were seen as 'survivors' using a form of speech that was vulnerable and likely to disappear.

It was against this background of changing approaches that it was proposed in 1972 to conduct a **Tape-Recorded Survey of Hiberno-English Speech**, under the direction of *G.B. Adams* (of the Ulster Folk

and Transport Museum), *M.V. Barry* (of the Queen's University, Belfast) and *P.M. Tilling* (of the former New University of Ulster). Although a **Linguistic Survey of Ireland** *(Henry 1958)* had been begun in the late 1950s and was continuing, under the direction of *Professor P.L. Henry*, now of University College, Galway, it was felt that there was a need for an island-wide survey of the English speech of Ireland which took account of some, at least, of the recent developments in dialectology elsewhere. The objective of the **Tape-Recorded Survey** (TRS), therefore, was to combine, as far as was practicable, the methodologies of the 'traditional' dialect geographer with those of the sociolinguist. Given the fact that TRS was to be an island-wide survey, obviously not all the criteria adopted by the sociolinguistic investigators of a single community could, of course, be adopted. Limitations of time and finance would prevent this. It was decided, therefore, to isolate for special treatment one of these criteria within the single class of speaker to be investigated — that of age. Any linguistic differences between the generations, it was felt, would be particularly useful as a guide to both the nature and direction of change. However, the survey would not take into account the likelihood of any speech differences between the sexes, though subsequent work in Belfast (particularly) has shown that this is a fruitful area of language change (*Milroy* 1980: 112 ff.; *Milroy* 1981: 34 ff.). For TRS to have included informants based on both sex and age differences would have doubled the number of informants and the work-load to an extent that would have made the survey impracticable.

The directors of TRS were also concerned that their work should, as far as possible, complement that of the **Survey of English Dialects** (SED) and **The Linguistic Survey of Scotland** (LSS) in the hope that it would eventually be able to be used in conjunction with them. However, it was decided that TRS should be concerned solely with pronunciation and that all its material should be tape-recorded. The tape-recorded method of collecting data in the field was an obvious advance over the methodology of SED, for instance, where field-workers were required to write down all linguistic information during the interview in an inadequately defined 'impressionistic' phonetic notation, with the consequent danger of introducing field-worker, rather than linguistic, boundaries into the published material. The tape-recording method would obviously be faster and, at the same time, more accurate. Although visual contact with the speaker would be lost, it was felt that this would be more than compensated for by the fact that the directors together could produce agreed transcriptions with instrumental aid where necessary.

The concentration of TRS on phonology meant that its questionnaire could be shorter than those of previous surveys, again speeding up the collection of data. However, key-words for inclusion within the questionnaire were taken, as far as possible, from the

questionnaires of both SED and LSS, in order to make for complementarity of data with these surveys. In their choice of key-words (items for investigation), the directors received valuable assistance from a number of scholars of Hiberno-English as to which items were likely to reveal the most useful information throughout the whole of Ireland. Although the objective was to provide a complete inventory of the sounds of any one speaker investigated, it was also the intention to illustrate the development of these sounds in relation to their historical source, giving the survey both a diachronic and a synchronic dimension. It was felt that a knowledge of the sources of sounds was often an important factor in the explanation of present-day pronunciations. Thus, using examples from the survey's data, the contrast between Ulster Scots [i] in BEET and [e:] in BEAK, TEA (all of which are [i:] in Received Pronunciation English) can in part be explained in terms of the contrasts of the source pronunciation, as is here indicated by the spelling.

The questionnaire finally drawn up by the directors comprised 379 items (as compared with SED's 1092). As with SED, it was decided that the questionnaires should not contain the required key-word. They would thus be completing questions, which would only be completed by giving the correct answer ('A car has a steering....'), conversion questions, in which the word opposite to that given was required, and descriptive questions ('What do you call the animals that give you milk?'). In some cases, alternative questions were devised for use with children. As with SED, the questionnaire was arranged thematically, to give four sections: A. The Countryside, B. The Home, C. People, D. Miscellaneous. It was hoped that such an arrangement would reduce the formality of the interview situation and give it something of the character of a natural conversation. The questionnaire also included biographical information sheets which would provide essential personal and social information about each informant. While the survey was primarily intended to obtain data for the informant's interview style, it was also intended to record samples of a less formal style of about thirty minutes' duration after the questionnaire had been completed. It was felt that at this stage informant and field-worker would know each other sufficiently well for the informant to be at ease in his or her company. It would also give the field-worker sufficient time to identify any topics which particularly interested the informant and about which he would speak more informally. Thus, TRS planned to obtain two different interview styles: a more formal and a less formal. Clearly, given the limitations of time and the number of localities and informants to be recorded, it would not be possible to establish the conditions suitable for obtaining a truly spontaneous style.

TRS, as stated above, was to be an island-wide survey. It was felt that such a survey would not only provide an account of the sounds of a

series of speakers throughout the island, collected under the same conditions, but it would also locate regional differences, both those which had previously been recognised and those which were, as yet, unrecorded. The directors of TRS frequently recalled the fact that no linguistic survey of the whole of Ireland had previously been completed, though some regions had been isolated for special study. In view of the settlement pattern of Ireland (a scatter of individual farms and small towns, except for the (mainly) east coast, where the larger towns are concentrated), it was decided to investigate informants on the basis of a regular net-work. For this, the directors chose the Irish National 20 kilometre grid and, in the first instance, it was decided to investigate speakers from within the north-westerly quarter of each 20 kilometre square. If time permitted, and particularly where linguistic boundaries were identified, the remaining three quarter squares would be investigated in a second phase of the survey.

In view of their aim to investigate the speech of different generations, the directors of TRS resolved to interview three informants from each area, each to be chosen from a different age-group (i. 9-12 years; ii. 35-45 years; iii. 67-75 years). Each of the informants would be asked to answer the questionnaire and to provide a sample of unscripted conversation. It was thus hoped to show the extent to which different generations within a single community shared the same speech, to what extent and in what way they differed, and, if possible (through analysis of the social and biographical information collected) to identify possible causes for any differences. In this respect, it was hoped that the material would be of some value to sociolinguists.

The award in 1974 to the survey of a grant by the Social Sciences Research Council made it possible to employ full-time field-workers. This enabled it to employ local (and, in some cases, Irish-speaking) graduate students, which would allay the fears of those critics who felt that an English field-worker (though not an Irish one) might in some way inhibit an informant and cause his speech to be modified in the direction of the field-worker's.[2] It should perhaps be mentioned that two of the initial three directors[3] of the survey were English and that, in the first instance, it was assumed that they would also become the survey's field-workers. As well as the SSRC grant, the survey received valuable financial support from University Colleges, Cork and Dublin, each of which part-supported a field-worker.

The use of full-time field-workers meant that the directors would be free to concentrate on editorial matters, such as transcribing the material into a detailed phonetic notation (using instrumental aid where necessary) and editing it into a form suitable for publication.

From the start, it was intended that the data would be published in atlas form, following SED and LSS. It is also the intention to

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produce monographs on linguistic issues of special interest, working papers and, possibly, specimens of the informal recorded material in anthology form on disc or cassette.

Field-work started in 1974 and continued until the recent exhaustion of the SSRC grant. To date, material has been collected from about two-thirds of the island. The directors are aware of the dangers in halting the collection of data, even though temporarily, at this stage. Any further delay will lead to the obvious accusation that the period of collection covers too long a time-span and that the data is not strictly comparable from locality to locality. This is, of course, a danger inherent in any large-scale linguistic survey with limited resources. The collection period of SED, for example, was 1950-1961. The directors of TRS are at present actively engaged in raising further finances.

In the meantime, preliminary analysis of the data has begun and sufficient of the field-work has been completed to enable the directors to draw some conclusions about the effectiveness of their methodology in illustrating particular linguistic issues. The most important work to date has been *W.V. Barry's* investigation of the north-south linguistic boundary. *Barry's* conclusions have been published elsewhere (*Barry* 1981) but, briefly, he has demonstrated in some detail that the boundary is largely as earlier identified by *P.L. Henry (Henry* 1958: 147-160) and stretches in a broad east-west band from Dundalk and Drogheda to Bundoran and Sligo. However, in south-west Donegal southern forms appeared to be gaining currency, while a corridor of northern forms extended southwards from Upper Lough Erne — possibly reflecting old north-south trade routes. Further, *Barry* noticed that two sub-dialects appeared to be emerging in the general area of the boundary: one in the north Pale and Dublin hinterland, where northern and Received Pronunciation English (RP) forms were current, and the other to the south of Lough Neagh, which perhaps represents a spread of Belfast-influenced speech up the Lagan valley.

Barry's conclusions were based on an examination of 45 phonological variables (including those used in *Henry's* earlier study) all drawn from the data of TRS. Study of the data from the survey's three age-groups enabled him to identify the general area of the north-south boundary and also to suggest that innovations within this area were largely identified with informants 2 (middle age-group). In general, northern forms had a more southerly distribution for these informants than for informants 1 (younger age-group) and informants 3 (older age-group) and it is noticeable that these northern forms recall RP. Similarly, where informants 2 preferred a southern to a northern form (as used by the other informants), the southern form is generally here the one that recalls RP. Thus, to illustrate selectively from some of the consonants characteristic of

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the area, the northern aspirated final consonant [tʿ] (as in CAT) had a much more southerly distribution in the speech of informants 2 than for informants 1 and 3. Here [tʿ] was opposed to the regular southern affricated [tˢ]. Similarly, in words like THIRD and THISTLE, the northern initial fricative [θ] had a much more southerly distribution in the speech of informants 2 than for informants 1 and 3. Here initial [θ] was opposed to the inter-dental [t̪]. Contrastingly, the data for CAT showed that the northern initial [kj] is receding northwards, to be replaced by the southern (and more approximate to RP) form [k̟].

Barry also observed that the speech of informants 1 and 3 were generally close to each other in their distribution, and that where there were differences, this was because southern forms had a more northerly distribution in the speech of informant 1. *Barry* suggested that where the speech of informants 1 and 3 agreed, it was likely to reflect the influence of the elderly on the home-based young, and that where they differed it could be the influence of RTE or Dublin-trained school-teachers.

Continuing *Barry's* analysis, *P.M. Tilling* investigated the data for one locality within the north-south border zone, that of Kinlough, Co. Leitrim (two miles south of Bundoran, Co. Donegal) (*Tilling* 1981). In type, the variety of English spoken in Kinlough is northern Hiberno-English, with a mixture of southern forms, and, because of its border position, variation within the dialect is commonly caused by a particular speaker preferring to use a southern, or even an RP form, rather than a northern form. In fact, not surprisingly, variation between the three informants (from three age-groups) was the exception, rather than the rule, and all informants used most of the forms recorded, to a greater or lesser extent. Furthermore, where there was variation between the age-groups, it was not always readily explainable. Easiest to understand, perhaps, were the divergent pronunciations noted in the speech of informant 2 (middle age-group). In Kinlough, this speaker was typical of the informant 2 type of general, in that he had spent some time away from the locality. Thus, like informants 1 and 3, he had been born, bred and largely resident in the area, but had spent five years (out of 45) in the English Midlands. This could explain, for example, his choice of northern forms, where they recalled RP, while the other informants showed a preference for a southern form. Thus, in the initial consonantal combinations /tr/ and /dr/, as in TREE, TROT, DRINK, DRUM, /r/ was realized in the speech of informant 2 as the alveolar frictionless continuant [ɹ], the regular realization of RP. Informants 1 and 3, however, used a flapped [ɾ]. RP or southern influence also probably accounts for the general absence of palatalization, in the speech of both informants 1 and 2, of initial /g/ before a low and mid front vowel, as in GAP, GET. Informant 3 preferred the northern, palatalized form in this context, which, given the evidence of the other speakers, would seem to be disappearing in

this community. Surprisingly, perhaps, /k/ in this same context is commonly palatalized in the speech of all informants, though, as *Barry* notices (see above), this form is, in general, receding northwards.

RP influence may also be responsible for the striking differences in vowel length in the speech of the three speakers, where vowels which are short in the speech of informant 2 are long in the speech of informant 1 (usually) and informant 3 (almost always). This is most obvious in monophthongs which have a low unrounded front vowel, as in [mæn] versus [ma:n] MAN, also WAG, BACK etc. In general, the short forms recorded for informant 2 recall the RP distribution of length. The long forms, though associated with northern Hiberno-English, have a distribution that extends well to the south of the north-south border zone (*Henry* 1958: 159).

Further confirmation of Barry's conclusion that informants 2 (in particular) in the border area prefer forms that most nearly approximate to to RP (whether southern or northern) is also suggested by the data for final —/əɾ/ in disyllabic words (e.g. SPIDER, DINNER, BIGGER etc.). Here, the northern realization is commonly rounded, which is represented in Kinlough by [ɵɾ](or some slight variant). Informant 2, however, preferred an unrounded realization [əɾ], characteristic of southern Hiberno-English and closer to the RP [ə]. A similar contrast was also noted in monosyllables which contain a diphthong with / ə /+/r/ or a diphthong followed by /əɾ/ e.g. WIRE, FLOOR, TYRE, HEAR etc.

In view of informant 2's preference for RP related forms, it is perhaps surprising to note that final /t/ was commonly affricated in his speech, particularly after a vowel. This was most evident in his pronunciation of IT. Although all informants fluctuated between the northern aspirated [tʿ] and the sourthern affricated [t^s], the affricated forms were commonest in the speech of informant 2. In this instance, RP influence can hardly be allowed.

Thus, while RP might be seen as a factor in determining a preferred form in the speech of informant 2, it is quite clear that it can only be in part responsible. TRS has been able to hint at the factors which may underlie language variation within communities such as Kinlough, though a full explanation would require a detailed examination of the social and psychological pressures on each individual informant. However, TRS has shown the kinds of variation that are present and has, through its survey approach, pointed to the regional sources of this variation, in this case either northern or southern Hiberno-English. It is also quite clear that if TRS had restricted itself to a single, elderly age-group (following other 'traditional' surveys), the problem of language variation in Kinlough would have been largely disguised.

Following the establishment of TRS, two other survey-type studies of communities within the north of Ireland have been undertaken and published, one in a rural and the other in an urban setting. Both were conducted by sociolinguists and both were concerned to examine and, as far as possible, to explain language variation. Both were confined to relatively self-contained linguistic communities and, because of the (comparatively) small size of these communities, the investigators were able to develop and apply sophisticated techniques in order to explain language variation. Although the large-scale nature of TRS prevents a detailed sociolinguistic examination of each of its localities, the findings of such sociolinguistic studies are clearly of the greatest importance to it in providing explanations of language variation that could have general application.

The rural study was that of E. Douglas-Cowie (née Douglas) who investigated her home village of Articlave, Co. Londonderry (Douglas-Cowie 1978; Douglas 1979). Her observations that the villagers appeared to be bi-dialectal, using both a local dialect and an RP influenced one, led her to investigate the social circumstances which determined the use of each. Douglas-Cowie selected twelve informants, taking account of age, sex and the social make-up of the village. All the informants were known to her personally. Each informant was given four tests: tests 1, 2 and 3 were intended to elicit Casual, Formal and Reading Style Speech and test 4 was a Grammatical Sensitivity test. Of particular interest were the results of tests 1 and 2 (Casual and Formal Style) when correlated. In the Casual Style test informants had been recorded in groups of two and had chosen their partners. In the Formal Style test they had been recorded individually in conversation with an English stranger and, not surprisingly, most informants used their RP influenced dialect in this test. However, there were exceptions and these were not always related to the obvious socio-economic factors. Thus, one informant who used non-standard forms equally in both tests was a man of high income (a farmer) and grammar-school educated to age seventeen. However, Douglas-Cowie devised a further test in which each of the informants was asked to rate the others in terms of their wish to get on (social aspiration). This factor was shown to be of vital importance in an explanation of the switch from a local to a RP influenced speech. Those who had retained their local speech to a high degree in the formal situation were rated low on the scale of social aspiration by the other informants, while those who shifted to an RP influenced speech in the formal situation were rated high on the scale.

Language variation was also a central concern of the study of Belfast lower working-class speech, **Speech Community and Language Variety in Belfast,** which was undertaken in 1975 by J. and L. Milroy (Milroy 1980; Milroy 1981). Some of the other objectives were to

provide a detailed description of inner-city lower working-class Belfast speech and to examine the concept of speech community. Three inner-city areas were investigated: the Protestant Hammer district, Lower Shankill, West Belfast; the Catholic Clonard district, Lower Falls, West Belfast; and Protestant Ballymacarrett, East Belfast. Sixteen informants were recorded from each locality (four young males, four young females, four middle-aged males and four middle-aged females). Once entry had been made into each community, informants were selected randomly through a net-work of family and friends. Four styles of speech were collected: Casual/Spontaneous, Interview, Reading Passage, Word List and Minimal Pair.

As the preliminary findings of TRS suggest and as Douglas-Cowie has shown for Articlave, the Milroys demonstrated that Belfast lower working-class speech also fluctuates between localized forms and forms which are more standardized. All speakers, for example, use more standardized forms in their Interview Style than in their Spontaneous Style. Also, and most interesting, is the contrast between the sexes (something which TRS did not take into account). Not only do lower working-class males in general use more localized forms in both styles than do females, but young males in particular use more localized forms than do middle-aged males. Conversely, young females use fewer localized forms than do middle-aged women. Furthermore, males vary their speech less in different speech situations than do females, who are prone to standardize more in formal situations. To some extent this recalls Douglas-Cowie's conclusions regarding standardization and social aspiration. According to her findings, those judged to be the most socially ambitious, and who used an RP influenced dialect in formal situations, were two female shop assistants (educated to secondary-school level) and a housewife (educated to grammar-school level). The least ambitious, and the least prone to standardize was the grammar-school educated male farmer. In the case of lower working-class Belfast, however, the Milroys suggest that the young men, in particular, by using non-standardized forms are demonstrating their loyalty to their community and are conforming to their local peer-group speech norms. Considerable pressure, it seems, obliges conformity for the males, but not the females.

Any comparison of the work of the dialect geographer with that of the sociolinguist shows considerable areas of overlapping interest. Both are concerned (among other things) to record language variation, though the large-scale survey method of the former prevents the kind of detailed analysis that the sociolinguist can bring to bear on his data in his search for explanations. TRS has attempted, in some minor way, to marry the two approaches, but its directors are fully aware that three informants cannot adequately be said to

represent the speech of a particular community. At the same time, the directors are conscious of the fact that without a large-scale survey, certain forms, trends and distributions might otherwise remain unrecorded. That a general overview of the linguistic situation in Ireland is necessary, is highlighted by the Milroy's detection of a linguistic divide between East and West Belfast, reflecting the fact that different rural dialects underlie the speech of these two parts of the city (Milroy 1981; 40-41). Clearly, if accurate assessments of this kind are to be made, it is imperative that large-scale surveys like TRS are conducted and completed.

NOTES

1. For G.B. Adams, see the bibliography of his writings in Adams, G.B. **The Dialects of Ulster** (ed. Barry, M.V. and P.M. Tilling), Ulster Folk and Transport Museum, 1985. Among the major works of the other scholars cited here, the following should be noted:
   Braidwood, J. 'Ulster and Elizabethan English', in Adams, G.B. (ed.) **Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium,** Ulster Folk Museum, 1964. 5-109.
   Gregg, R.J. 'Scotch-Irish Urban Speech in Ulster', in Adams, G.B. (ed.) **Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium,** Ulster Folk Museum, 1964. 163-192; and 'The Scotch-Irish Dialect Boundaries in Ulster', in Wakelin, M.F. (ed.) **Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles,** The Athlone Press, London, 1972. 109-139.
   Henry, P.L. **An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon,** Aschmann and Scheller, Zurich, 1957; 'A Linguistic Survey of Ireland, Preliminary Report', **Lochlann. A Review of Celtic Studies,** 1, 1958. 42-208; 'Anglo-Irish Word-Charts', in Adams, G.B. (ed.) **Ulster Dialects: An Introductory Symposium,** Ulster Folk Museum, 1964. 147-161.
   Bliss, A.J. 'Languages in Contact: some problems of Hiberno-English', **Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,** LXII C, 1972, 63-82.

2. The principal full-time field-workers employed by TRS were: *Miss C. Gallagher* (who worked in Ulster), *Mr. A. Lunny* (Munster and Leinster), *Mr. B. Gunn* (Munster), *Mr. A. McCrumlish* (Leinster) and *Miss M Ní Rónáin* (Connaught).

3. Sadly, *G.B. Adams* died in October 1981.

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Linguistic Cross-Links in Phonology and Grammar

G.B. Adams, M.R.I.A.
Ulster Folk and Transport Museum

For the last three or four centuries Ireland has been affected by a process of language shift. A linguistic interpertation of the difference between the two population groups recorded in Petty's census of poll-tax payers compiled in 1659 suggests that Ireland was then about 82 per cent Irish-speaking and about 18 per cent English-speaking. Our next more or less reliable estimate was made by Christopher Anderson, based on the population figures of the 1821 census and published by him in 1828, i.e. for a period about 160 years later than Petty. His figures suggest that Ireland was then just under 55 per cent Irish-speaking. Thirty years later, according to the first official language census the proportion had dropped to just over 23 per cent, but this is generally regarded as defective, perhaps to the extent of recording only about two-thirds of the Irish-speakers then existing, which would put the true figure at about 34 to 35 per cent. After another thirty years the 1881 census, which is regarded as being more accurate, recorded the number of Irish-speakers as being about 18.5 per cent of total population, but thereafter the decrease became slower, reaching not quite 13.5 per cent in 1911, the year of the last all-Ireland language census.

In the half-century after 1659 there was some fresh immigration, not all of it, however, English-speaking, for it included French-speaking Huguenots and German-speaking Palatines, while Gaelic-speaking Scots continued to trickle into Ulster from the Highlands until the middle of the 18th century. Between 1660 and 1900, over a period of 240 years or about eight generations, some two-thirds of the people of Ireland changed their language, in the great majority of cases from Irish to English.

If we consider in greater detail the time-scale over which this process took place — provided people stayed in their own area and did not migrate into an area where the other language was commonly spoken — we realise that the whole process at the individual level could extend over four generations of a family, namely:-

1. The monoglot Irish-speaker who in adulthood picked up some English from English-speaking immigrants but could not speak English effectively.
2. His son who learned some English at school and later improved his knowledge to the point of speaking English semi-fluently but only as a second-best to Irish.

3. His grandson who spoke both languages fluently but had more occasion for using English and probably failed to pass on Irish to his children.
4. His great-grandson who spoke English only from childhood but perhaps had a limited passive knowledge of Irish derived from his grandparents rather than from his parents.

For simplicity I have here described the process of language shift in terms of transmission through the male line of descent over four generations but the process could be speeded up or retarded by differential linguistic behaviour on the part of males and females within the family or by various other factors. At the social as opposed to the individual level within this four-generation time-scale it would be the two middle generations who would be effectively bilingual. With an overlap averaging 30 years between each generation the combined life-span of two generations could run to about 90 to 100 years, but the period of overlap between the two languages would be of the order of about 60 years.

When we place such a 60-year period against the whole 240 years between 1660 and 1900 we see that in different parts of the country as many as four distinct periods of language-shift could be covered by this total time-span without any chronological overlap. I would reckon that in the Saintfield area of north Down the language shift took place about 1670 to 1730; in the Moira area on the borders of west Down and south Antrim it took place about 1750 to 1810; in the Drumaness area of mid-Down it took place about 1810; along the north Antrim coast it took place about 1840 to 1900; on Rathlin Island it took place about 1900 to 1960. These places all lie between 10 and 60 miles from Belfast. There is some chronological overlap and also some gaps between some of them but the whole process extends to a time-span of almost three centuries.

In the half-century before 1660 political and social conditions were too chaotic for the ordinary process of language shift to operate in a regular way. Since 1900 the one-way shift from Irish to English has been overlaid in parts of the country by the reverse process. It is therefore to the eight-generation period between 1660 and 1900 that we must attribute the language shift in its classic form, with variations in its rate of progress from one district to another. This is the classic period of language shift and of language contact between Irish and English when cross-links between them in phonology and grammar were established.

In phonology the most striking result of this language contact and of the shifting bilingualism resulting from it has been the expansion of the English consonant system. Early modern English, introduced in the half-century before 1660 had a consonant system of 25 phonemes, one of which — the voiceless /ʍ/, written **wh**

orthographically — has since been lost in Anglo-English, while in many forms of the latter, /r/ has also been lost when not followed by a vowel. It had a number of consonantal allophones, notably clear and dark /l/ occurring before vowels and consonants respectively; and velar and palatal forms of /k/ and /g/ occurring before back and front vowels respectively though here the distinction is no longer so prominent in modern standard Anglo-English pronunciation as it once appears to have been. The Lowland Scots form of the language lacked these allophonic variants but it had a more robust pronunciation of /r/ which remained in all positions and produced interdental allophones of alveolar /t/ and /d/ before it, even when the schwa vowel intervened. As well as this there were three additional phonemes — the voiceless velar fricative /x/ and palatalized /ʃ/ and /ɲ/, — making a total of 28.

Contact between Irish and English in the three southern provinces and between Scots plus English and Irish in Ulster has produced slightly different consonant systems in southern and northern Hiberno-English. In both, however, the number of consonantal phonemes has been raised by the phonemicization of allophonic variants and this has happened where these corresponded with sounds that were separate phonemes in the Irish consonant system. Here of course we run into the problem that Irish dialects differ to a greater extent than English dialects in the total number of phonemes that they use. Leaving aside voiceless liquids and nasals and certain nasalized fricatives whose separate phonemic status in Irish is secondary and recent, Donegal Irish has 39 consonantal phonemes whereas Munster Irish has 33 and Scottish Gaelic has 31 — near to Munster in total numbers but quite differently arranged — and English RP has ony 24 which is considerably less than any of the Gaelic dialects, Irish or Scottish.

Basically I will describe northern Hiberno-English which is better known to me than southern with its various sub-varieties. Northern Hiberno-English can have up to 36 consonantal phonemes which is much nearer the 39 of Donegal Irish than the English RP total of 24, though not all sub-varieties reach this high total. The point is that although the Ulster English and Ulster Irish systems are not identical there are no extra phonemes in Ulster English that do not exist as separate phonemes in Ulster Irish. In Ulster all 28 phonemes of the Lowland Scots consonant system have been preserved, not just in Ulster Scots dialect but in the regional standard pronunciation of English, though in Belfast working-class speech there is a tendency to lose /x/ and /ʍ/ in the case of speakers who have no country background. Phonetically /ʍ/, when not lost, is frequently pronounced with considerable bilabial friction and so falls together with Irish broad **f**, which it represents in loanwords and proper names e.g. **whillogie** from **faoileóg**, **Whelan** from **Ó Faoláin**. Bilabial /f/ and /v/ have also been heard in place of the English labiodental

/f/ and /v/ around the southern and south-eastern shores of Lough Neagh, even in one case from a speaker named O'Hagan who did not know how many generations back his forebears had spoken Irish. The /x/ phoneme occurs in loanwords and proper names from Irish where Dublin speakers, like the English, usually replace it by /k/. in non-standard dialect words from Scots, and in the Ulster Scots pronunciation of general English words that have lost it, but it has failed to form a basis for introducing its voiced counterpart which exists as a separate phoneme in Irish, and of course it would have no occasion to arise in English except to a very limited extent in loanwords from Irish. The /x/ phoneme is sometimes weakened phonetically and then falls together with /h/ but thereby acquires a wider distribution than original /h/.

In addition to these 28 phonemes all forms of dialect and non-standard speech in Ulster have added four interdental or ambidental phonemes /T, D, L, N/ by phonemicizing allophonic variants of alveolar /t, d, l, n/. To take the lateral and nasal pair first, minimal pairs illustrating the contrast between interdental /N/ and alveolar /n/ are provided by: east Antrim **/wʌNər/, wonder** versus **/wʌnər/ winner,** with the same vowel sound but different nasal phonemes, which would be written **bhonnar** and **bhonar** respectively in Irish orthography; **/həüL/. hold** versus **/həül/ howl.**

When to these are added the palatalized **/ʎ/** and **/ɲ/** we see that northern Hiberno-English is a language with three **l**-phonemes and three **n**-phonemes, like Scottish Gaelic rather than like northern Irish which has four of each. This leads us to ask what has happened to the four **l** and **n** phonemes of Ulster Irish when proper names and other loanwords are transmitted to Ulster English. Curiously, although interdental /L/ and /N/ survive in northern speech their incidence appears to be governed by the phonology of English rather than by direct survival in individual loanwords from Irish. Thus **tulach** and **mullach,** which do not form a perfect rhyme in northern Irish, survive as **tullagh** and **mullagh** in placenames, which do form a perfect rhyme with plain alveolar /l/ in both. In Ulster English the interdental or emphatic phonemes occur in situations deriving from the phonology, e.g. where /d/ has been lost after /l/ or /n/, or after /r/, and where allophonic variants have then been phonemicised because of changes in other parts of the sound system. In the case of the two palatal forms of **l** and **n,** two developments are possible when Irish words pass over into English. Either the distinction between palatal and non-palatal is lost and Irish slender /l'/ and /n'/ fall together with broad /l/ and /n/ as ordinary English alveolar /l/ and /n/, or else the slender lenited sounds are emphaticized and appear as **/ʎ/** and **/ɲ/** (the /L'/ had /N'/ of traditional phonetic transcriptions from Gaelic dialects). Thus we have **Lough Gullion** from **Loch Goilín** and **Slieve Gullion** from **Sliabh gCuilinn.** In English words the sounds

/ʎ/ and /ɲ/ appear for English RP /l/ and /n/ plus yod /j/. I am not sure how far south this sytem of three **l**-phonemes and three **n**-phonemes extends in southern Hiberno-English. On the basis of the Irish substratum one would expect it to be present in Connaught and north Leinster but it may not occur in Munster and south Leinster where Irish had only two lateral and nasal phonemes and not four. It is also not quite clear how far the threeway contrast in Ulster English may be due to the influence of Scottish Gaelic which has a threeway contrast in the matter of **l** and **n** phonemes as opposed to the fourway and twoway contrasts of northern and southern Irish. It is interesting that in both **Loch Góilín** and **Sliabh gCuilinn** the intervocalic unlenited slender **l** has been made emphatic after a stressed vowel to preserve its palatal quality whereas the final slender **n**, lenited in the first case and unlenited in the second, standing after an unstressed vowel has been depalatalized along with this vowel and the distinction between lenition and non-lenition in the two words has been lost. Thus the fourway system of oppositions at phonemic level has been recast in passing over from Irish to English.

The function of interdental /T/ and /D/ differs in northern and southern Hiberno-English. The boundary between the two areas runs roughly along the county boundaries between Bundoran and Cuilcagh Mountain, then north to Upper Lough Erne and follows the lough to the point where Cavan, Monaghan and Fermanagh meet. After this it runs across Monaghan just north of the barony of Farney into Armagh at Cullyhanna and thence over Slieve Gullion through Jonesborough and across the Cooley Mountains to Dundalk Bay. North of this line the English interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ have been preserved — and it is noticeable that some bilinguals pronounce Irish broad **s** as almost an interdental rather than an ambidental fricative — whereas south of this line they have been replaced by the corresponding occlusives /T/ and /D/. Apart from this /T/ and /D/ occur in all parts of Ireland as what were originally allophones of /t/ and /d/ which have later become phonemicized owing to other changes in the sound-system, at least in dialectal and non-standard speech, giving a total down to this point of 32 consonantal phonemes for northern Hiberno-English, with the reductions already mentioned in the southern variety.

To this list must be added the four palatal phonemes /k′, g′, ŋ′, x′/ corresponding to velar /k, g, ŋ, x/, all of which can occur in both northern and southern Hiberno-English, though only the last occurs in Ulster Scots dialect and there only as an allophone of velar /x/. This brings us up to a total of 36 consonantal phonemes for many varieties of Hiberno-English, though with some reduction in the total number for its southern variety on the one hand and for Ulster Scots dialect on the other. The two systems are at their closest perhaps for Ulster Irish on the one hand and Ulster English in the narrower sense

— excluding Scots — on the other. There are, however, the following points of difference:

1. Ulster Irish has not adopted the voiced sibilants of English nor Hiberno-English the voiced velar fricative of Irish;
2. Northern Hiberno-English at least, and possibly some southern varieties as well, has adopted three of the four **l**- and **n**-phonemes of northern Irish but has reduced the **r**-phonemes to one only;
3. Hiberno-English has lost the broad/slender contrast in the case of labials /p, b, m/ and non-lenited /l/ and /n/.

Among the vowel phonemes there are no specific cross-links at phonemic level of the kind that exist among the consonants, though the phonetic realization of some phonemes shows traces of Irish influence. The most notable example is perhaps the Hiberno-English development of Middle English short **u** which in most parts of the country has become /ö/, though not in the strongly Ulster Scots dialect areas.

When we turn to the realm of grammar we come to a field where there is considerable scope for cross-links to develop. At the level of morphology there exist both resemblances and differences between the two languages. In the noun both recognise the difference between singular and plural — though Irish has a more extended use of singular nouns after numerals than English has — and between the common case and the genitive, but Irish uses the genitive to a greater extent than English, which in certain cases prefers an uninflected attributive noun or one linked with the preposition **of.** In both languages plurals can be formed by internal vowel change or by adding a suffix, but the former are far more numerous in Irish than in English and there is a far greater variety of plural suffixes. Singular nouns in Irish have the gender distinction between masculine and feminine which English lacks, but both agree in making no such distinction in the plural. Finally, some Irish nouns have special forms after prepositions, for the vocative case and for the dual number, all of which things English lacks. In adjectives both agree in lack of inflection if the adjective is used predicatively but the Irish adjective, unlike its English counterpart, may have both inflexion and initial mutation when used attributively. With a single relative form to express the comparative and superlative degrees, which is invariable because construed as being predicative in a subordinate relative clause, and with no adverbial derivative other than the use of the preposition **go** before it, the Irish adjective is simpler than the English adjective which fluctuates between the suffixes **-er** and **-est** or the prefixed adverbs **more** and **most** in the first case and somewhat variable use of the suffix **-ly** in the second.

As usually happens between languages belonging to different branches of the Indo-European language family, the differences in

their verbal systems are much greater. An English verb has only four forms, except for a minority of about 60 verbs that have five forms and another minority of about 30 verbs that have only three. The verb **be** with eight forms and half a dozen modal auxiliaries with only one or two are really outside the system. The **-s** in the third person singular of the present tense is the only personal inflexion left; the suffix **-ing** forms a derivative which has both gerundial or nominal and participial or adjectival functions; the past tense and past participle are now identical except in the minority of 60 verbs that have an extra form, while in the other minority of 30 verbs they are even identical with the present tense except where the latter adds **-s** in the 3rd person singular.

In Irish as in English the Imperative singular is the root from which the rest of the verb is derived but the Irish Imperative has a special plural form. The Past tense is simpler than in English since it is always formed by initial prefix or mutation, but it is never identical with the past participle or verbal adjective which always has a distinctive suffix. The Present tense has the suffix **-ann** throughout and not just in the 3rd person singular where English has **-s**. The English gerundial participle with suffix **-ing** and its uninflected infinitive with prefix **to** are both replaced by a verbal noun which can have gender, number and case just like any other noun and take a dependent genitive instead of a direct object. Thus the basic parts of a Irish verb differ in the system by which they work from the equivalent parts of an English verb, but differences between the two languages go much further for the Irish verb possesses inflected and in some cases initially mutated forms expressing categories of meaning that are either not explicitly expressed at all or are quite differently expressed in English. These are five kinds:

1. Suffixially derived forms to express the Habitual Past, the Future Tense, and the Conditional and Optative Moods;
2. Synthetic forms, more numerous in southern than in northern dialects, to express the person and number of the subject instead of using separate personal pronouns with a fixed form for each tense;
3. Impersonal or autonomous forms for each tense to express an undefined subject;
4. In northern Irish a special relative form in the present and future tenses;
5. A series of derived participles formed by prefixes added to the verbal adjective.

Finally, while the range of personal pronouns in Irish is somewhat simpler that in English many prepositions have conjugated forms to express a pronominal object.

Such similarities in the structure of the two languages as are listed above are not due to cross-links established by language contact over

a long period of bilingualism but, like the much more numerous differences, are due to the separate development of two branches of Indo-European over a long period of time. It is not in the morphology of the two languages that we must seek cross-links but in the realm of syntax. Time permits the mention and examination of only a few points.

The first is the use of the definite article. Early Indo-European had no article either definite or indefinite. English developed both, but Irish developed only a definite article, and having done so it uses it somewhat more extensively than English does. The definite article in Irish is used before names of abstracts, diseases, languages, countries, and except in the case of countries we find this usage also in Hiberno-English where standard English would normally omit the article.

A second point concerns the distinction between the momentary present and the habitual present in the verb **be.** Standard English has only one present tense: **I am, you are, he is,** but Irish distinguishes between the momentary present **táim** or **tá mé, tá tú, tá sé** and the habitual present **bím, bíonn tú, bíonn sé.** In Hiberno-English the traditional present tense is usually restricted to the momentary meaning while a new habitual present has been formed which is either **I do be, he does be** or else **I be, he bes.** I have the impression that the former is more common in the south and the latter in the north, except in the negative and interrogative form where this tense takes the auxiliary verb do just like any ordinary verb.

A third point concerns the lack of the auxiliary verb equivalent to the English **have** which means that there is no series of perfect tenses. For the pluperfect tense of standard English we use the simple past, while for the perfect we either use the simple part as well, which is less explicit than standard English or a periphrasis, dealt with below, which is more explicit. If the verb has an object the verb **have** may indeed be used but the past participle then follows it as a predicative adjective and the sense is then not quite the same as the English perfect or pluperfect tense.

Fourthly, there is the series of continuous or progressive tenses that distinguish even standard English from several of its closest relatives on the Continent. These are formed with the verb **be** pius the present participle or gerund. In Old English this was preceded by the proposition **on** which survives in worn down form as the prefix **a-** in Wessex English and it has been said that English developed this construction through contact with Welsh and Cornish. It corresponds to the Irish verb **tá** followed by the preposition **ag** and the verbal noun, but Hiberno-English, like Irish, goes much further than this for by using the preposition **after** between the verb **be** and the present participle a series of perfect tenses is produced, and by

using the proposition **for** - corresponding to Irish **le** - we get a series of tenses denoting future intention.

A fifth syntactical feature is the omission of the relative pronoun, not only when it is the object of the relative clause, which can be done in general colloquial English, but even when it is subject, while a sixth feature is the use of **and** to introduce certain subordinate clauses that need a different conjunction plus finite verb in standard English; this **and** is followed by the present participle or sometimes the English infinitive.

Finally it may be pointed out that sentences like: **he's big the man, they're dear the eggs now** for standard English 'he's a big man', 'the eggs are dear now' point to literal translation from the structure of Irish classificatory sentences. All these idioms are evidence of cross-links between the two languages that arose from a prolonged period of bilingualism.

The Hiberno-English "I've it Eaten" Construction: What is it and where does it come from?

John Harris
Sheffield University

1. Hiberno-English as a contact dialect

Hiberno-English is the name given to the collection of English dialects spoken in Ireland.[1] I take it as beyond dispute that much of what sets Hiberno-English (HE) apart from Standard English is due to the influence of Irish. The linguistic consequences of the type of language contact that has given rise to languages and dialects such as HE are well documented (e.g. Weinreich 1953). What is in dispute here is the **degree** to which Irish has influenced the evolution of HE. While some writers have acknowledged that the nonstandard element in HE may owe at least something to British varieties of English (whether regional dialects or earlier forms of the standard language), they have often failed to pinpoint examples of such influence. The result is that some nonstandard HE features have been attributed to Irish influence alone.

The exclusive contribution of Irish to some areas of HE nonstandard syntax is beyond doubt. For example, the failure of negative attraction (which transfers the negative from pre-verbal position leftward to be incorporated with indeterminate **any** — **Anyone won't go — No-one will go**), illustrated in (1), seems to be peculiar to HE and is clearly related to the fact that Irish has no expression that directly translates the determiner **no**. (Labov is therefore wrong in describing negative attraction as a 'general and compelling rule of English which is equally binding on all dialects' (1972a: 47).

(1) *Anyone wasn't any good at it at all.*

Other examples include: the use of co-ordinating **the way** in place of Standard English (StE) **so that** (2); prepositional usage (3, 4); and the adverbial phrase **and** — pronoun-**ing**-participle (5).

(2) *They make poteen away out on the hill, the way you wouldn't know a thing about it.*[2]

(3) *He didn't come back with (=StE for) twenty-eight years?*[2]

(4) *Ye broke me pen on me.*
(=StE You've broken my pen.)

(5) *He waved at me and he coming down the road.*[2]

Similar examples could be cited of direct Irish influence on HE phonology and lexis.

In certain other cases, on the other hand, the evidence for direct Irish influence on HE is somewhat ambiguous. There are several HE constructions, for which Irish origins are claimed, which turn up in other nonstandard dialects where the possibility of Irish influence seems remote. For example, the operation of subject-verb inversion in embedded questions in HE (e.g. (6)) is said to reflect the word order of Irish (Todd 1975: 210; Lunny 1981: 138).

(6) *I wonder is he home now?*

However, this construction is by no means uncommon in certain other parts of the English-speaking world, as anyone familiar with the dialects of Scotland or the north of England will know. HE has special habitual aspect forms which contrast with other tense-aspect forms; compare continuous **He's working** with habitual **He be's working.** It is alleged that these habitual forms derive from the Irish consuetudinal (Henry 1957: 168; Bliss 1972: 75; Todd 1975: 208). While it would be foolish to rule out Irish influence in this case, it should nevertheless not be ignored that similar forms are attested in earlier northern British English dialects (Traugott 1972: 191-192) and are a well-known feature of Black American English (Labov 1972b: 51-53). Similarly, in the realm of deixis, although the HE nonstandard tripartite system of demonstrative pronouns and adjectives (**this/that/thon**) is very similar to the Irish **sin/seo/úd** distinction ([+ near to speaker] vs [-near to speaker, + near to hearer] vs [-near to speaker, -near to hearer]), it is also found in earlier StE as well as modern Scots, as Todd points out (1975:187).

The English language with which Irish-speakers originally came in contact was not homogeneous: it was a mixture of many varieties including not only the standard dialect of London but also many regional standard and nonstandard dialects. It would be perverse to ignore the fact that many nonstandard features of HE phonology, morphology and syntax for which Irish origins have been claimed, are also attested in some of these British regional and/or nonstandard varieties. In such cases, it would probably be nearer the truth to say that the influence of Irish has been 'preservative' (Weinreich 1953: 36) or 'selective' (Bliss, no date: 5) rather than direct or exclusive. The facts suggest that, during the formative years of HE, Irish speakers acquiring English were free to select, from the variable range of English available to them, those forms that most closely reflected Irish distinctions they felt it necessary to preserve.

I want to look in some detail at another HE construction that has been assumed to derive from Irish. This is the so-called perfect found in sentences such as:

(7) *I have me dinner eaten.*

In particular, I would like to examine two claims that have been made with regard to this construction: (a) that it is simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect (**I have eaten my dinner**), deviating from the latter only in terms of word order, and (b) that its nonstandard word order stems from the fact that it is a calque on a particular Irish construction. I hope to show that there are differences between this HE perfect and its alleged StE equivalent that are not superficial but located close to the grammatical core. The two constructions turn out to be referentially non-equivalent, which stems in part from a more general structural disparity between the verbal systems of HE and StE. This disparity raises certain questions, which I have gone into elsewhere (Harris 1982), about the alleged underlying identity of all types of English. I will also challenge the claim that the HE perfect construction in (7) is a loan-translation from Irish. While Irish may have had a preservative influence on the construction in the sense outlined above, there is evidence to suggest that the construction is a continuation of an older English perfect.

2 The HE PII construction

Although the StE perfect occurs in standardised HE, it is absent from basic HE vernacular. Instead a range of tense-aspect forms is available to the HE speaker which covers roughly the same scope of time reference as the StE perfect. HE has two completives which Greene refers to as PI and PII (1979: 122). PI, the 'immediate perfect', which is realised as a conjugated form of **be** followed by **after** and an **-ing**-participle, refers to an event or action that occurs immediately before some point in time (the moment of speaking in the case of the nonpast form, or some specified point in past time in the case of the past form):

(8) *I'm after seeing him.* (=StE I've just seen him.)

PII, illustrated in (7), only occurs in transitive sentences, where it superficially resembles the StE perfect but for the fact that the **-ed**-participle is placed after the direct object. It should be pointed out that sentences such as (7) do not have a causal meaning in basic HE. PII has no intransitive counterpart formed with **have**. There is an intransitive contruction with **be** followed by the **-ed**-participle (e.g. **They're gone**), but this is mostly restricted to a small number of verbs of motion and is probably best analysed as copula plus subject complement by analogy with sentences such as **They are agreed.**

In addition to the two completives, HE employs a range of tense-aspect forms which are also found in StE but occur in contexts where the perfect would be appropriate in StE:

(9) *I know his family all me life.*
(=StE I've known his family all my life).

(10) *Were you ever in Bellaghy?*
(=StE Have you ever been to Bellaghy?)

(11) *Are you waiting long on the bus?*
(=StE Have you been waiting long for the bus?)

(12) *I was living there a year whenever I met him.*
(=StE I had been living there for a year when I met him).

The HE rule governing the use of past and nonpast verb-forms in noncompletive contexts such as these appears to be: in 'extended-now' contexts, where an action begun in the past continues through the moment of speaking, a nonpast form is used; the past form is reserved in these contexts for indefinite past time reference in a period leading up to the moment of speaking.

PII has been the subject of much discussion among writers on HE (Joyce 1910: 84; Henry 1957: 176-178; Bliss 1972: 73-74; Sullivan 1976: 125ff; Greene 1979). For some writers such as Joyce and Sullivan, the construction is simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect. There appear to be at least four reasons why they hold this view. Firstly, in neglecting the relationshipof PII to other tense-aspect categories in HE, some writers have assumed it to be embedded in a verbal system that is, if not identical to that of StE, at least very similar to it. (A notable exception is Henry 1957). Secondly, since basic HE lacks a construction with exactly the same word order as the StE perfect, PII is thought to be merely a nonstandard substitute for it, the deviant constituent order of PII being ascribed to Irish interference. Thirdly, although StE does possess a construction which is identical to PII in its order of constituents, it is very rarely given the same sort of completive reading (at least in southern British StE). It is much more usual for the StE construction to have a causal meaning (**Joe has his boat sold** = **Joe gets someone to sell his boat**), a reading that is not usual in basic HE. When the StE construction does have a similar reading to PII, it seems to be only possible with a very much smaller number of transitive verbs than in HE. (For example, although a non-causal reading of **I have the tickets booked** may be accepted StE, sentence (7) with **eat** would most certainly not be.) The StE causal **have** construction is therefore not felt to be related to HE PII. Fourthly, a difference between PII and StE constructions with the same constituent order is that the **have**

form can be contracted in the former but not in the latter. Thus, while **Joe's his boat sold** is possible for PII, it is not an acceptable realisation of the StE causal construction with the same constituent order. Since contraction is typical of auxiliary **have** in StE, the **have** in HE PII has often been assigned the same auxiliary function as that in the StE perfect.

The difference between PII and the StE perfect then is felt to be merely one of surface word order, which might be expressed in terms of a postposing transformation that moves an **-ed**-participle to the right of an object noun phrase. PII thus would seem to bear a striking resemblance to the German **Satzklammer** (compare **I have the boat sold** with **Ich habe das Boot verkauft**) and in this form appears to be a very old Germanic construction. However, writers on the subject have preferred to attribute the constituent order to PII to Irish influence (Henry 1957: 178; Bliss 1972: 73; Sullivan 1976: 128). One way of expressing HE **I have the boat sold** in Irish is (13), where the constituent order noun (**bád**) plus verbal adjective (**díolta**) is allegedly the source of translation-borrowing for the sequence noun plus **-ed**-participle in PII.

(13)	*Tá*	*an*	*bád*	*díolta*	*agam*
	BE+nonpast	THE	BOAT	SOLD	AT-ME

The assumption that PII and the StE perfect are underlying equivalent means that they can be derived by phrase structure rule as the 'same' construction, which tallies with the view that all types of English share an underlying structural identity. The difference between the grammars of StE and HE is therefore only a superficial one at this point and can be expressed in terms of the addition to the HE grammar of the late transformation that moves an **-ed**-participle to the right of an object noun phrase. I want to argue here, however, that, for various reasons, it is wrong to assume referential equivalence for the two constructions. One important reason is that HE is embedded in a tense-aspect subsystem that is quite different from that of StE. As has already been pointed out, PII is just one of at least five tense-aspect forms that can be used to render the StE perfect. Because of this, it is often impossible to decide, when the StE perfect occurs in the standardised speech of a HE speaker, which HE tense-aspect form could potentially have been used in the same context. A simple sociolinguistic analysis taking PII and the StE perfect as variants of one syntactic variable is therefore not possible. But there are other reasons why PII and the StE perfect cannot be equated, and these have to do with the internal structure of PII and the special co-occurrence restrictions that are placed upon it.

If PII were introduced by phrase structure rules that are identical to those of StE (i.e., with the same constituent order as the StE perfect), the **ed**-participle movement transformation needed to generate the correct surface constituent order in PII would run into serious difficulties. For example, the transformation would wrongly generate future conditional sentences from past conditionals. The structure (14a) (after affix-hopping), for instance, which underlies the StE past conditional sentence (14b), would wrongly surface as the future conditional sentence (15) after the operation of the participle right-movement transformation.

(14a) *JOE CAN+past* **have** *WRITE+***ed** *THE LETTER.*

(14b) *Joe could have written the letter.*

(15) *Joe could have the letter written.*

The appropriate HE past conditional PII sentence that corresponds roughly to StE (14b) would be:

(16) *Joe could have had the letter written.*

On the basis of sentences such as (16), it would be necessary to include two **have** constituents in the relevant HE verb phrase structure rule, if it were insisted that PII should be derived like the StE perfect.

In fact there is a much more satisfactory solution to the problem which enables us to get maximum mileage out of a transformational rule that must be included in a grammar of HE for other constructions. This is the raising rule associated with complex sentences such as:

(17a) *I want this wall painted.*

The structure underlying (17a) can be analysed as consisting of a main clause containing the verb **want** and an embedded clause, to which passivisation applies, containing the verb **paint** and a dummy agent:

(17b) *I WANT THIS WALL PAINTED* **by** *X.*

The embedded clause is raised into the main sentence and the dummy agent deleted transformationally. This type of operation is needed for a number of verbs which can take the same construction, e.g. **need, get, keep.** If we analyse PII sentences in the same way, we not only eliminate the problems associated with the participle postposing transformation, but we are also able to capture much more satisfactorily the semantic characteristics of the construction (which we look at in Section 3). The structure underlying (7) is thus (18), on which the agent deletion and raising transformations obligatorily operate.

(18) *I HAVE ME DINNER EATEN* by *ME.*

According to this analysis, **have** in PII constructions has the status, not of a tense-marking auxiliary, but of a full lexical verb which can be treated as being identical to **have** in possessive sentences. **Have** in PII is thus seen to be related to causative **have** (19) and **have** in benefactive and other indirect passive constructions (20, 21), where raising is also involved.

(19) *Mary had the wall painted (by her brother).*

(20) *Joe likes having his back scratched (by his girlfriend).*

(21) Dan had his door broken down (by the police).

One difference between PII and the constructions in (17, 19, 20) and (21) is that agent deletion is obligatory when, as in PII, the main clause subject and embedded clause agent are coreferential (equi-NP deletion) but optional in the other, related constructions where there is no such coreference.

To summarise some of the ways in which PII, according to the analysis proposed here, differs from the StE perfect: PII is not introduced by phrase structure rule as a discrete tense-aspect category, as the StE perfect is, but is a complex construction consisting of a main **have** clause and an embedded clause containing an **ed**-participle; **have** in PII is not a grammatical formative, as in the StE perfect, but a lexical verb denoting possession.

3. The meaning of PII in HE

Several writers have pointed out that PII has a statal connotation not associated with the StE perfect (Henry 1957: 177; Bliss, no date: 17). Whereas the StE perfect describes an action or event, PII focuses more on the state that results from some anterior action. Henry notes that this is bound up with a possessive connotation to PII which is carried by **have** (1957: 177-178). The analysis of PII as possessive **have** plus an embedded clause reflects quite neatly this possessive element and the preoccupation with the result of an action as opposed to the action itself. The subject of the main clause experiences or is "in possession of" a state of affairs which has been initiated by an action that is referred to in the embedded clause. Furthermore, Henry claims that the object in PII constructions "stands in a passive relation to the agent" (1957: 178); this is captured in the embedded passive clause of our analysis. Treating PII simply as a compound tense form would neglect these sematic characteristics.

The statal-nature of PII is borne out by the findings of a study of northern HE carried out in Belfast. Examples of PII were collected from over 150 hours of the tape-recorded speech of

sixty Belfast speakers, drawn from five areas of the city. The construction cropped up on average only about once an hour, but in the overwhelming majority of cases dynamic verbs of activity were involved, the most frequent being **do, make, finish, write.**[3] To supplement this material by further analysis of tape-recorded speech would be a very time-consuming task, given the relative infrequency of the construction, so a written questionnaire was designed to elicit, among other things, responses on the acceptability of certain verbs occurring with PII. A pilot study was carried out on 145 university students, all from the north of Ireland, with a view to extending the investigation to cover a representative sample of Belfast speakers. In one question, the respondents were presented with twelve sentences, each containing PII with a different verb, and asked to judge the acceptability of each. The twelve verbs had been carefully selected in groups of three from four categories: dynamic verbs of activity, dynamic momentary verbs, stative verbs of inert perception, and stative relational verbs. These were presented in random order to the respondents, along with context sentences (read aloud by the researcher) designed to exclude any possible causal readings.

TABLE 1: Judgements by 145 northern HE speakers on the acceptability of twelve verbs occurring with PII.

N = 145	Acceptable		Acceptable
Dynamic verbs of activity		Stative verbs of perception	
BOOK	138	RECOGNISE	17
WRITE	136	UNDERSTAND	11
MAKE	125	SEE	10
Dynamic momentary verbs		Stative relational verbs	
JUMP	39	OWN	13
HIT	28	RESEMBLE	12
KICK	20	RELY ON	7

The questionnaire results, set out in Table 1, are striking confirmation of the findings based on the study of tape-recorded Belfast speech. PII is much more likely to occur with dynamic verbs (particularly of activity) than with stative verbs. It may at first seem to be a contradiction that the statal construction should appear most frequently with dynamic verbs, until it is appreciated that, for the state referred to in PII to exist, there must have been some prior action to bring it about. Our analysis of PII accounts for this quite nicely. The state described in the underlying main clause is seen to have been initiated by the action referred to in the embedded clause: hence the tendency for dynamic verbs of activity to appear in the embedded clause. In sentence (7), for example, the dynamic verb **eat** refers to an activity which has resulted in a state which

the subject is now experiencing. A stative verb in the underlying embedded clause of the PII structure can obviously not initiate another state to be referred to in the main **have** clause. One state cannot give rise to another state without the intervention of some process or other. The probable reason that dynamic momentary verbs are much less likely to appear in PII sentences is that the effects of the action described are not felt to last long enough for the subject to experience them as a state.

The statal nature of PII is further exemplified by the severe restrictions on its occurrence with temporal adverbs; here again it differs widely from the StE perfect. One commonly accepted view of the StE present perfect is that is refers to "extended-time" (McCoard 1978: 123-163), that is to a period leading up to and including the present. This characteristic distinguishes it from the StE preterite which refers to time anterior to and separated from the present ("then time"). Restrictions on the type of temporal adverb that can co-occur with the present perfect and preterite in StE reflect this distinction. Adverbs such as **yesterday, the other day, in 1916** refer to then time and thus may appear with the preterite but never with the present perfect. **So far, as yet, since Monday** are examples of adverbs which, since they refer to extended-now time, occur with the present perfect and not with the preterite. Some temporal adverbs (for example **never, always, often**) can occur with either tense-aspect form. Sentences (22) to (24) illustrate these co-occurrence restrictions in British StE. (Assignment of temporal adverbs to the three categories is slightly different in American StE, in which (23b), for example, is acceptable.)

(22a) *I bought a red balloon* **yesterday.**

(22b) **I've bought a red balloon* **yesterday.**

(23a) *Have you seen Anne* **yet?**

(23b) **Did you see Anne* **yet?**

(24a) *I* **never** *wrote to him the whole time I was away.*

(24b) *I've* **never** *written to him, although I know he likes getting letters.*

The temporal adverbs in these sentences refer to the events described by the verb in its preterite or present perfect form. In HE, on the other hand, any temporal adverb that appears in PII sentences refers not to the event described in the past participle but to lexical **have.** The occurrence of a temporal adverb therefore depends partly on the tense of **have. Have** in its past form admits then time adverbs, as any verb in its simple past form does:

(25) *I had the letter written yesterday (but I tore it up this morning).*

PII sentences with nonpast **have** exclude then time adverbs, in the same way that the StE perfect does. But not all extended-now time adverbs can occur with PII: the choice of adverb is dependent on its being compatible with the statal nature of the construction. In its nonpast form, PII will usually admit adverbs which refer to a state located in a period leading up to the present time:

(26) *I have four books read* **so far.**

but adverbs describing indefinite events in a period leading up to the present are excluded from PII:

(27) **I have "Ulysses" read* **only once.**

Sentences such as (27) are further evidence that PII is not simply a StE perfect with a transformationally postposed past participle. Applying the participle movement transformation to StE (28) would yield in HE the unacceptable sentence (27).

(28) *I have read "Ulysses" only once.*

In other cases, the transformation would generate possible HE sentences which, however, have quite different readings from their alleged StE counterparts (in contravention of the principle that transformations do not change meanings). Sentences (29) (StE) and (30) (PII), for example, are not equivalent:

(29a) *He has never arranged anything.*

(29b) *NEVER (HE* **have+***nonpast ARRANGE+***ed** *ANYTHING).*

(30a) He never has anything arranged.

*(30b) NEVER [HE HAVE+nonpast] ANYTHING ARRANGE+***ed.**

In (29a), **never** refers to indefinite events in a period leading up to the moment of speaking. The same adverb in (30a), on the other hand, refers to a state of affairs which extends to time both anterior and posterior to the moment of speaking. The different behaviour of temporal adverbs with respect to PII and the StE perfect is quite clearly reflected in the scope of the adverb in the structures underlying the two constructions. In (29b) the scope of **never** is the whole clause, including the verbal group **have arranged.** In (30b) the scope of **never** is the main clause only, including the verb **have;** the embedded passive sentence, including the participle **arranged,** lies outside the scope of the adverb. In the StE perfect construction, the temporal adverb refers to the action described in the verb in its perfect form, while in PII the adverb refers to the statal element carried by lexical **have.**

Where a temporal adverb is required to modify directly a verb describing an event or events in extended-now time, HE resorts to one of the noncompletive tense-aspect forms illustrated in sentences (9) to (12). In the case of intransitive verbs and transitive stative verbs, of course, these and PI are the only tense-aspect forms available to refer to extended-now time, since PII is restricted to transitive dynamic verbs, as has been already pointed out. The extended-now time element which is present in the StE perfect verb-forms in sentences (9) to (12) is lacking in the simple and continuous verb-forms of the corresponding HE sentences, where it is left to the temporal adverbs to carry the aspectual information.

The statal analysis of PII brings it into line with other HE verbal constructions which show a clear preoccupation with the result of an action rather than with the action itself. The presence of **be** in PI (sentence (8)) and in constructions such as **I'll be gone** point to a consciousness of state as opposed to action. Henry claims that this is characteristic of much of the verbal system of HE, setting it apart from the StE system (1957: 179).

4. The origins of PII

Some writers have argued that the verbal system of HE is essentially identical to that of Irish, in terms of the tense-aspect distinctions it operates with, and that these categories are realised in the shape of English morphemes (Henry 1957: 161-179; Bliss, no date: 15). This would partly account for the matching ranges in Irish and HE of tense-aspect forms that correspond to the StE perfect. Irish lacks a grammaticalised perfect like that of StE, using instead simple past and nonpast verbal forms, a situation that is closely paralleled in basic HE:

(31) *Chuaigh sé amach.*
GO+past HE OUT.

HE He went out.
StE He has gone out/He went out.

(32) Tá sé marbh le fada riamh.
BE+nonpast HE DEAD WITH LONG-TIME EVER.

HE He's dead (with) a long time.
StE He has been dead for a long time.

In addition, Irish has two periphrastic perfect-like constructions that closely resemble HE PI and PII:

(33) *Tá sé tréis an bád a dhíol.*
BE+nonpast HE AFTER THE BOAT SELLING.

HE He's after selling the boat.

(34) *Tá an bád díolta aige.*
BE+nonpast THE BOAT SOLD AT-HIM.

HE He has the boat sold.

HE PI is quite clearly a calque on the Irish 'immediate perfect' illustrated in (33). No British dialect apparently has this construction.[4]

Similarly, most writers on the subject claim that HE PII is a calque on the Irish construction in (34) (which Greene also refers to as PII) (Henry 1957: 177; Bliss 1972: 73; Sullivan 1976: 125; Greene 1979). On the face of it, this claim seems plausible. If we compare the Irish and HE sentences in (34), we see that they have similar constituent order as well as semantic content. Both constructions contain the sequence noun (**bád, boat**) plus some verbal form (the verbal adjective **díolta** and the **-ed**-participle **sold**); both have statal and possessive connotations. The **tá** - NP - **ag**+pron construction in (34) is identical to that which occurs in simple possessive sentences without a verbal adjective:

(35) *Tá bád mór aige.*
BE+nonpast BOAT BIG AT-HIM.
'He has a big boat.'

A problem with the claim that HE PII is a translation-borrowing from Irish relates to the history of PII in Irish itself. Greene claims that PII in Irish is of relatively recent origin, dating back to the seventeenth century (1979: 136). This hardly leaves the construction much time to establish itself as a model for translation-borrowing into HE which had already begun to emerge in the seventeenth century. Moreover, Greene points out that PII in Irish is only common in Connacht and Munster (1979: 131). However, HE PII is to be found throughout Ireland. If Irish were the only source for the development of HE PII, it would be difficult to explain how the construction has come to be so common in northern HE where the predominant non-English influence has been Ulster Irish in which, according to Greene, PII is rare (1979: 1317).

The widespread use of PII in HE points to other origins of the construction. Clearly we must not overlook the fact that **have** — NP — V+*ed* structures do appear in StE and other English dialects. Although the most usual interpretation of such structures in StE is a causal one, other readings are occasionally to be found. (Chomsky discusses a possible possessive interpretation of the sentence **I had a book stolen** (1965: 21-22). Completive readings are quite common in many non-southern British dialects (Kirchner 1952: 403, 406-409), and there is

documentary evidence that completive **have** — NP — V+**ed** structures were once much more common in the standard dialect of London than is now the case. Kirchner (1952: 402-403) and Visser (1973: 2189-2190) cite numerous examples from the history of English of 'split' perfects, including the following from Shakespeare (Kirchner 1952: 402):

> *He which hath you noble father slain.* (Hamlet IV, 7,4).
> *Have you the lion's part written?* (Midsummer Night's Dream I, 2, 68).

It is generally agreed that the completive **have** — NP — V+**ed** construction is a relic of an "old" perfect which served as a model for the development of the "new" perfect in StE (Jespersen 1949: 29-30; Traugott 1972: 93-94; Visser 1973: 2189). This development is shared with other European languages that have a periphrastic perfect construction. The **have** of the old perfect is assumed to be a lexical verb denoting possession and the participle a complement of the object noun phrase (Visser 1973: 2189).

The rise of the StE modern perfect can be seen in terms of the development of syntactic constructions via the grammaticalisation of discourse. In this connection, Givón discusses two extreme poles of communicative mode: the pragmatic and the syntactic (1979: 97-98). Certain syntactic, tightly-bound constructions can be shown to have arisen from looser, conjoined constructions that are typical of the pragmatic mode. Givón cites the development of auxiliary verbs into tense-aspect-modality markers as an example of grammaticalisation (1979: 96-97). Two loosely concatenated clauses, each with its own verb, become subjoined; then by a diachronic process of raising they become condensed into a single clause. The verbs from each of the original clauses amalgamate to form a complex verbal group. The verb from the first clause becomes morphologised as a marker of tense, aspect or modality, while the second verb becomes the sole full lexical verb of the new sentence. In a process such as this, the most common verbs to occur in the first clause, in a uniform cross-language fashion, include **want, go, be** and, most importantly for the present discussion, **have**. The process can be seen at work in the development of the StE new perfect as a periphrastic tense-aspect construction. The two underlying subjoined clauses of the old perfect (one containing lexical **have**, the other an **-ed**-participle) have become condensed into the single clause of the new perfect. **Have** has been relegated to the status of tense-aspect marker within the verbal group which has as its head the verb from the original embedded clause. The cohesion within the new verbal group is reflected in the diachronic movement of

the participle to the immediate right of **have**, a position it had already held in intransitive constructions, where the **have** perfect was replacing the older **be** perfect. The development of the new perfect from the old has been accompanied by a semantic change. In the old perfect, attention is focused on the state resulting from the action described in the participle, while in the new the focus is shifted on to the action itself.

The new construction has not entirely replaced the old one. The older perfect has steadily lost ground to the new, but in the seventeenth century when the increasing influence of English in Ireland was giving birth to early HE, the old perfect was more common than it is today (Visser 1973:2189-2190). Judging by the perseverance of the older construction in modern regional varieties of English, it was probably even more common in the seventeenth century in the regional British English source dialects of HE than in the standard dialect of London. It seems likely then that the English old perfect was the form on which HE PII was modelled. Only now is the new perfect making inroads into HE, via those varieties that are most influenced by StE.

A second change in English that is relevant to a discussion of PII in HE involves an alteration in the status of **have** in certain environments. In StE, **have** is increasingly becoming reserved for auxiliary functions. Where it originally had the status of a full verb denoting possession it is being replaced by **have got** (Quirk et al. 1972: 80). The construction in (36a) is much more usual in southern British StE than that in (36b):

(36a) *Have you got a pen?*

(36b) *Have you a pen?*

This change is also affecting the old perfect where **have** denoting possession in increasingly being replaced by **have got** (compare the StE sentences **I have the tickets booked** and **I've got the tickets booked**). Not all dialects of English have adopted this newer **have got** form in possessive and old perfect constructions. **Have** in sentences such as (36b) is common in many regional varieties of English and is certainly the usual form in basic HE.

It seems then that, in certain varieties of English, including StE, two related innovations are affecting the old perfect: (a) its replacement by the new perfect, and (b) the replacement of the **have** of possession by **have got**. HE can be numbered among those dialects where these changes have had little or no impact. HE PII can be viewed as a continuation of the English old perfect, with lexical **have**, preserving the original statal, possessive connotations that are now absent from the StE new, actional perfect.

5. Conclusion

I have argued here that, for various reasons, HE PII is not simply a nonstandard variant of the StE perfect. While the latter is a grammaticalised tense-aspect form that is fully integrated into the verbal system of StE, HE PII is a looser expression consisting of two underlying subjoined clauses. Whereas **have** in the StE perfect is a tense-aspect marking formative, in HE PII it has the status of a full lexical verb that can be analysed as identical to possessive **have**. The meaning of HE PII shows a clear preoccupation with the state that results from the action referred to in the **-ed**-participle, while in the StE perfect attention is focused on the action itself. It is tempting to see this disparity as the outcome of the StE perfect being imperfectly adopted in HE because of Irish interference. However, while many features of HE nonstandard syntax are clearly Irish in origin, it would be a mistake, in the case of PII, to ignore the fact that the construction is attested in some nonstandard and/or regional English dialects as well as in earlier forms of StE. In fact, it turns out that the differences between PII and the StE perfect stem from the fact that the former preserves features of an older English perfect which has been almost completely replaced in StE by the latter.

That is not to say, however, that Irish has had no influence at all on the evolution of PII in HE. The similarities between HE PII and Irish PII are obvious. But this influence is more likely to have been reinforcing or preservative rather than exlusive and direct. From the seventeenth century onwards, as English gradually gained ascendancy in many parts of Ireland, Irish speakers were exposed to many varieties of English: the standard dialect of the landed gentry and senior administrators and the regional dialects of British settlers. No one variety alone served as a model for the acquisition of English. As HE evolved, Irish speakers were presumably able to select from this variable English speech those grammatical features that most nearly approximated in function Irish features they felt it necessary to preserve. Thus speakers who were loath to lose the Irish consuetudinal aspect category may have found, in the non-standard English dialects with which they came in contact, a rough equivalent that was missing from the standard dialect of London. Similarly, the **have** — NP — V+**ed** construction, which was more typical of regional British English varieties, is likely to have been taken as a model for HE PII, since it contains the statal elements of Irish PII which the StE new actional perfect lacks.

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FOOTNOTES

1. I am grateful to Roger Lass, Jim Milroy and Lesley Milroy for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. Final responsibility for what appears here naturally rests with the author.

2. These examples are from Lunny 1981 (138-139).

3. Casual observation of spontaneous Belfast speech found PII to be more common than its occurrence in the tape recordings would suggest. The relative infrequency of the construction in the tapes can probably be ascribed to the constraints of the recording situation. Much of the taped conversation consisted of narrative, banter and reflection on life in Belfast, all of which tended to favour the use of simple and continuous past and nonpast forms over PII.

4. John Widdowson reports that PI is found in Newfoundland English which is strongly influenced by Hiberno-English (personal communication). Visser notes **He's behind telling you** ('He's just told you') as occurring in Devon (1973: 2211). This too is probably Celtic in origin and might be attributed to earlier interference from Cornish cf. Welsh **Yr wyf wedi canu** (literally 'I am after sing').

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Observations on Thematic Interference between Irish and English

Markku Filppula
Department of English, University of Joensuu, Finland

The language situation in Ireland presents a fascinating field of study from a general linguistic point of view: what happens when two languages come into contact which have, first, a different basic word order (VSO and SVO) and, second, different THEMATIC systems? The two systems are, of course, interdependent to a large extent, as we will see.

By thematic systems I mean the language-specific devices that a speaker may use to organize his utterance as a message, which is syntactically and sematically well-formed and, besides that, appropriate in the given context. A central idea in this kind of pragmatic or functional approach is the division of clauses into "theme" and "rheme". In the definition of these I have adopted a position which originates from a Finnish linguist, *Nils Erik Enkvist*, and which is fairly close to that of *Michael Halliday*. A theme is defined as the FIRST part of the clause, extending usually up to the verb.[1] It may consist of a number of "subthemes", which are normally sentence-initial adverbials. A rheme is, quite simply, the rest of the clause in this binary system (Enkvist 1976, 63-4 n.).

Enkvist also makes an important distinction between the concepts theme and "topic", which are often used as synonyms. A topic is a constituent which also occurs at the very beginning of its clause, being preceded only by connectives and conjunctions, which at the same time can be regarded as having been FRONTED from some other, less MARKED, position, and which, finally, does not tolerate any other fronted constituent next to itself.[2] A clause-final constituent similarly moved to clause-final position would be called a "comment". If there is a topic in a clause, it is considered to be part of the theme (ibid.).

There is one more formal criterion which helps to distinguish between theme and topic: topicalizations, i.e. the fronting operations, never change the SYNTACTIC relations within a clause, as opposed to thematizations and rhematizations, i.e. the operations leading to the choice of theme and of rheme, which may (ibid.). The following examples perhaps clarify the point:

1.a. These men built the house.
1.b. The house was built by these men.

In 1.b. the thematic structure of the clause has been reversed through a syntactic change (by choosing the passive). This is NOT an instance of topicalization; that occurs in 2.b:

2.a They were big giants of men in them days.
2.b. Big giants of men they were in them days.

Here the difference between a. and b. is not one in the syntactic functions; **big giants of men** remains the subject complement in b., which is thematically marked.

The functions of the theme-rheme and topic-comment systems are to help to embed a clause or a sentence in its textual and situational context. The theme is often - though not necessarily - "what the sentence is about", and it usually conveys "given" or "known" information. The rhematic part of the sentence often carries "new" information. Topicalization serves such purposes as emphasis, contrast, or the linking of a constituent with the previous text (ibid.).

The thematic systems of Irish and English differ in some crucial respects. First of all, the possibilities of thematization are more restricted in Irish than in English because of its very consistent verb-initial word order. Stenson (1976, 269) notes that Irish lacks most of those thematic movement rules which involve a change in "basic" word order or in syntactic relations within a clause such as Tough Movement, Raising, Dative Movement, **There**-Insertion, Passive, and Topicalization (in a narrow sense, cf. below), all of which are found in English and other Indo-European languages. Left Dislocation and Extraposition are both possible in Irish, but even they are subject to severe restrictions.

Another striking difference is in the way in which contrast and emphasis are expressed. Irish again displays some peculiarities not shared by English or most other Indo-European languages. According to *Professor Gearóid Mac Eoin* (personal communication), Irish does not use sentence stress to convey contrast or emphasis; instead, either word order or certain synthetic particles are employed. *Ahlqvist* (1977, 274) also points out this special feature of Irish. What is meant by word order arrangements here, is the fronting of the constituent to be contrasted or emphasized, i.e., topicalization. Here, too, Irish has its own restrictions: the rigid VSO order and the consequent pressure of inserting a verbal element even before a fronted constituent has led to a near monopoly of the so-called copula (cleft) construction as the means of topicalization.[3] In compensation, the use of copula permits the fronting of almost any constituent of a clause, with the notable exception of the finite verb, which would have to be transformed into a verbal noun in order to be clefted. (For a discussion of the limits of the Irish clefting system, see *Stenson* op.cit., 150-3). In English, topicalization, either with or without clefting, is often blocked by

syntactic restrictions unknown in Irish. It is particularly hard to topicalize constituents which have a close bond with the predicate verb, or which belong to certain parts of speech. This is why contrastive or emphatic sentence stress alone, without any change in the word order, is used in English as an important alternative of thematic marking.

A third difference follows directly from the foregoing: in Irish, the THEMATIC part of the clause, the clause-initial field, is the most central and frequently used means of giving emphatic or contrastive colouring (through topicalization), whereas English employs — as it has to — more alternative means. The special role of the thematic field in Irish is also seen in certain clause-types, such as clauses expressing classification, ownership, or identification. These all share the peculiar feature that, in the unmarked case, the NEW information carried by the constituent immediately following the copula PRECEDES the GIVEN information conveyed by the rest of the clause. This is an obvious conterexample to the often cited universal principle (see also *Stenson* op.cit., 201 n.), and it may have had a certain influence on Hiberno-English.

It is these differences between Irish and English that have provided the theoretical basis for my empirical study of interference phenomena in Hiberno-English (H-E). In order to be better able to document traces of the substratum influence of Irish, I have compared three H-E dialects, those of Kerry, Wicklow and Dublin.[4] A comparative method was chosen, because not all of the interference phenomena are QUALITATIVE, and even those which are have often a QUANTITATIVE aspect: they may have optional Standard English counterparts, or they may be only seldom used. The quantitative aspect is particularly relevant, since the interfering thematic systems of Irish and English are both structurally and functionally close to each other.

There were four informants from each dialect, their ages varying from 54 to 81 years. None of them had any more than National School education. No questionnaires were used in gathering the corpus, since the aim was to obtain discourse material which was as natural as possible. To further minimize the negative effect of an openly recorded interview, I worked under the pretext of studying the local traditions. The topics of the interview were, however, more or less the same: they included aspects of the personal life of the informant, local affairs, traditions, and views on the future. The lengths of the interviews varied from 25 minutes to $1^1/_2$ hours, the totals being 4 h 25 min for Kerry, 3 h 45 min for Wicklow, and 2h 35 min for Dublin.

The criterion for choosing these dialects was the assumed STRENGTH of Irish influence. Kerry, or more exactly the district round Caherdanial near the Gaeltacht area of Ballinskelligs,

represents here the most recent and most direct impact of Irish. All the informants had spent their childhood in a strongly bilingual environment. They still know some Irish, although it is not spoken there any more. Their first language has always been English. Wicklow, and there the district of Calary, is a place in which Irish died out as early as the mid-eighteenth century. Here the informants had virtually no knowledge of Irish, and three out of the four had not even studied it at school. Dublin, finally, might be assumed to be at the weakest end of the continuum of Irish influence, being most open to the outside world. The informants here, too, had very little or no Irish.

In addition to the H-E dialects mentioned, I have gone through a British English corpus of $2^1/_2$ hours of length. This was collected by one of my English colleagues, and it consists of the openly recorded interviews of five people whose speech can be taken to represent Educated Standard English. Their ages varied from 40 to 73 years.

In discussing the results of the comparison, I will limit myself to what appears to be the most prominent area of interference, viz., TOPICALIZATION. This includes both cleft constructions and frontings without clefting, as was noted above.

Cleft constructions taken as a whole turned out to be most frequent in the Kerry dialect, which was quite predictable. The relative frequencies have been counted in relation to a time unit, which is here 45 minutes (this being the recording length of one side of the type of tape used, and the most frequent length of interview). One could, of course, count the numbers of tone-groups, or even words, but I do not think that that would change the overall picture. In Table 1 I have given the average frequencies of clefts per speaker per 45 minutes. I have not included the so-called **there**-clefts, nor pseudo-clefts; the former, incidentally, were also most frequent in Kerry.

Kerry	14.8
Wicklow	6,5
Dublin	5,3
British English	2.0

Table 1. Average frequency of clefts per speaker per 45 minutes.

On the basis of the above figures, one cannot discern any significant difference between Wicklow and Dublin, but Kerry English and British English seem to form categories of their own. This, I think, clearly points to the contining influence of the thematic systems of Irish on Kerry speech, and, to a lesser extent, on H-E in general. Certain qualitative features of H-E clefts, which I will discuss below, provide more evidence towards the same conclusion.

Most of the H-E clefts serve the same functions as in Standard British English. In one type, the focal constituent receives contrastive or

emphatic stress, and it usually represents information which is new or contrastive. The **that**-clause, on the other hand, is normally weakly stressed and generally carries information which is either known or knowable from the context. Prince (1978, 896) calls this type the "stressed-focus **it**-cleft". Ex. 3, which is from Kerry speech, illustrates this (for explanation of the transcription symbols used, see the appendix):

3. /since we got our **own** independence/.../it have **died** away /††/it is more **Eng**lish/†/they are speaking **now**/

However, H-E clefts sometimes have qualitatively distinctive features, which in this particular type of cleft is manifested by greater syntactic freedom. The focal constituent may be a subject complement, an adverb of manner, or even (part of) a verb phrase just as in Irish (for a discussion of Standard English restrictions, see Quirk & al. 1972, 952; Emonds 1976, 133). There were very few instances of these in my corpus, but similar observations by Henry (1957, 193) support the existence of these patterns in H-E. In ex. 4 from Wicklow we have part of a periphrastic verb phrase as the focus. This sounded very odd to my two English colleagues, whose intuitive judgements I have relied on here.

4. /ah **ve**ry little's (i.e. few farmers) give up farming round = **this** area/†/it's looking for **more** land/a lot of them **are**/

Another striking feature is the indifference to the sequence of tenses, which is seen in examples 5 and 6 from Kerry:

5. /I think/†/**this** year./†/**this** year he bought it/†† Q/isn't it **late**ly he bought that/

6. /I and my brothers **didn'** go to America/†/but all my./ /all my uncles went to America/††/I **remem**ber/I **remem**ber = when I going to school/†/I remember it's **three** of my uncles = when **a**way/**three** of 'm/

The second major category of cleft constructions consists of cases in which there is no implication of contrast, or at most an indirect one, and, second, the **that**-clause is normally stressed. As to the presuppositions, these clefts differ from the stressed-focus type in that the hearer is not expected to KNOW the information in the **that**-clause. According to Prince, "the whole point of these sentences is to INFORM the hearer of that very information" (Prince op.cit., 898). Rather more precisely, the function of such a sentence is to present a piece of information as FACT, as something which is commonly accepted and already known to some people, but not yet to the hearer (ibid., 899-900). For this kind of cleft Prince uses the term "informative-presupposition **it**-cleft". Surprisingly enough, grammarians have almost invariably overlooked this function of clefting.[5] Examples 7 and 8 from Prince (op.cit., 898, 902), and example 9 from my Kerry corpus perhaps make the distinction clear:

7. It was just about 50 years ago that Henry Ford gave us the week-end ... he decided to establish a 40-hour week, giving his employees two days off instead of one.
8. But why is the topic so important? Apparently, it is the topic that enables the listener to compute the intended antecedents of each sentence in the paragraph.
9. /and there's a hold **well** there'n/that **well** was that he./
/it is **there** he used bap./he was a./err he was a **monk**/†
/a **holy** man/†/and it is **there** he used to baptize the = children/

Note that in example 9, the focal adverb **there** does not receive contrastive stress (Prince's examples have been taken from written sources). Prince mentions some other characteristics of this type of cleft, which are also confirmed by my findings: they usually have an anaphoric focus, which is most often an adverbial of setting (defining the place or the time in which the action itself takes place) or a subject noun phrase (op.cit., 899). The focal constituent could be said to act as a kind of MARKED THEME, to which the subsequent bit of new information is attached.

Prince finally notes a tendency for informative-presupposition clefts to occur in formal, often written, discourse (ibid., 899). This receives indirect support from my results, since the instances of these were so few in my BE corpus. On the other hand, the same appears to be true of all kinds of clefts. In H-E, however, informative-presupposition clefts seem to be a characteristic feature of the spoken language. They are, in fact, proportionately more frequent in Kerry than in the other two dialects: well over half of all clefts were of this type there. In Wicklow and Dublin they accounted for about a third of the instances. If this was only an ARCHAIC feature of H-E, one would expect the Kerry and Wicklow figures to be at least a little nearer each other, since in many other respects the Wicklow dialect displays truly archaic features. Therefore, one is inclined to consider the possibility of Irish influence here, too.

The Irish cleft construction has, indeed, a function equivalent to that of the English informative-presupposition clefts.[6] Besides that, it has certain subsidiary functions, in which there is also no implication of contrast. Mac Cana (1973, 110) has observed that sometimes the marked character of a cleft sentence may apply to the total statement rather than to the focal constituent alone. He gives examples like the following, which according to him are extremely common in spoken Irish:

10. Is tú ariamh nár choisg do theangaidh "you neven bridled your tongue" (lit. "it's you who never bridled you tongue").
11. Ba é a bhí cosamhail len' athair ar lorg a leicinn "he looked like his father from the side view" or "he was strikingly like his father..." (lit. "it was he who...").

(*Mac Cana* op.cit., 110)

There is a certain element of emphasis in these sentences, but it is not contrastive. A more suitable description would be EMOTIVE or EXPRESSIVE emphasis (*Mac Cana*, personal communication). Yet another area of usage, in which clefting is widely used without the customary implication of contrast, is RESPONSE-sentences of an explanatory nature (*Mac Cana* op.cit., 104). Here is *Mac Cana's* example:

12. "Faoi Dhia, goidé tháinig ort?" ars an t-athair. "Micheál Rua a bhuail mé", ars an mac "In God's name, what happened to you?" asked the father. "Micheál Rua gave me a beating", said the son (lit. "it was M.R. who...").

(ibid., 106)

A few more constructions using the copula should be mentioned whose functions are also closely related to those of the informative-presupposition clefts, viz., **is é rud, is amhlaidh** "it is a thing that", "it is a fact that", and **is é an chaoi** "it is how". (For a comprehensive discussion of the different uses of these, see especially *Ó Cadhlaigh* 1940, 543-556). Reflections of these are sometimes met in Kerry speech in sentences where there is emphatic assertion of a fact (only the first **it is**-clause in example 15 is relevant here):

13. /and it is the matter these places are a**way**/under**neath** the = ground/big **tun**nels/ right/↑/ under the **ground**/
14. /it (i.e., a ghost) seemed like to be. in the **field**/↑ /in the field where it is the **house** were/
15. /but./ /'tis **more** the Irish **died** since they./since they gave = that em**ploy**ment because./↑/it is all **En**glish that's spoken = they **now**/

These sentences are not clefts, of course, but more or less direct translations of the corresponding Irish patterns. They were also judged to be clearly nonstandard by my colleagues.

Returning now to H-E, it seems plausible to argue that the greater frequency of informative-presupposition clefts in Kerry speech than elsewhere is due to the analogical influence of the corresponding Irish system, which has, moreover, such widely-used non-contrastive sub-functions as those discussed above. The diversity of functions of clefting in the substratum language has obviously shaped the English language in Ireland so that its SENTENCE RHYTHM has been slightly altered. The general tendency of Irish to prefer the thematic part of the clause for thematic marking is clearly discernible in H-E, particularly in those dialects which have been in close contact with Irish. Henry (op.cit., 195) has observed the same tendency in the dialect of North Roscommon. According to him, a speaker of H-E sometimes uses the cleft construction as a device for presenting the chief burden of his thought (i.e., new information in my terminology)

as directly as possible. Some of the HESITATION phenomena found in my corpus lend further support to this assumption. Consider the following examples from Kerry speech:

16. /before the Irish **famine**/ † /in eighteen forty-**seven**/ †
/it was mostly./ like **Ire**land/ **Ire**land was an./it was./
/**Ire**land was a **Cath**./ a **Cath**olic country/
17 /but it was tw.**two**/ **por**ter was for./**two** pence a pint/

These sentences reveal the existence of a conflict between two types of sentence rhythm or thematic organisation. The nonstandard tendency is also evident in certain clause-types such as existential **there**-clauses. In examples 18 and 19, also from Kerry, the "logical" subject has been topicalized through clefting. Here the intuitions of my colleagues differed: one of them did not consider them acceptable, the other accepted them as colloquialisms. In any case, my data suggest that these are more typical of Kerry speech than of the other dialects.

18. /they've **died** and **em**igrated and / **ev**erything/ †
/it is all **for**eigners that'll be here before./ **you** know/
/after a **time**/as far as I can **see**/
19. /**pro**bably it was **thatched**/ †/because it was all./
/it was all **thatched** houses was here one time/you **know**/

Finally, I would add the evidence obtainable from the relative frequencies and the qualitative features of topicalizations WITHOUT CLEFTING. As Table 2 shows, these were also most frequent in Kerry speech. There are no significant differences among the others.

Kerry	10,7
Wicklow	4,2
Dublin	5,3
British English	3,7

Table 2. Average frequency of topicalizations without clefting per speaker per 45 minutes.

A comparison between Kerry and Wicklow suggests again that the higher frequency in the former cannot be explained as archaism alone. Moreover, the Kerry dialect seems to allow itself more syntactic liberties that the other two, let alone British English. The following examples from Kerry sounded more or less odd to my colleagues:

20. /my **broth**er that's over in **Eng**land/ †/when he was./ when he = was **young**/ †/a **sto**ry now he told me/when **he** was young/
21. /he is **work**ing over there/ †/in some **build**ing he is working/
/with the couple of weeks/
22. /**two** lorries of them (i.e., turf) now in the year we do burn/

The commonness of such nonstandard or odd topicalizations partially makes up for the admittedly low absolute numbers of occurrences, and it provides one more proof of the influence of the thematic systems of Irish. A bigger corpus might also bring out more clearly the slight tendency of Kerry speech to favour topicalizations of SUBJECT COMPLEMENTS. The differences between the dialects found here are too small to be significant, although intuitively, one would expect that the Irish copula clauses of classification, ownership and identification would have some influence on topicalizaions of not only subject complements, but of other constituents as well (cf. above).

All this evidence drawn from spoken H-E indicates the continuing influence of the Irish thematic systems: frequent clefts and simple topicalizations and their qualitative special features underline the importance of the thematic, sentence-initial field. The concomitant change in the distribution of SENTENCE STRESS is one of the factors behind the distinctive Irish "accent", which is most clearly noticeable in those dialects which have been most directly subject to the influence of Irish, although it is not totally lacking in other areas, even in Dublin.

APPENDIX: Explanation of transcription symbols used

/...../	= tone-group boundaries
/he was./	= phrase discontinued; hesitation
/.... =	= tone-group continued in the next line
Q/ .... /	= question
/it's **me**/	= normal main sentence stress
/it's **me**/	= contrastive or emphatic sentence stress
↑ ↑↑	= pauses of different lengths

1. In a VSO language like Irish, the verb is usually the theme.
2. Adverbials sometimes present special problems. Here, too, I have followed Enkvist's classification of adverbials into adverbials of "setting" and "valency" adverbials (for discussion, see Enkvist op.cit., 54-6). Another clue is the placement of main sentence stress (which marks the information focus): if it falls on a clause-initial adverbial (excluding the so-called sentence adverbials), we are dealing with adverbial topicalization.
3. I will be using the term "topicalization" to cover cleft constructions as well. The stresslessness of the copula **is** (and of the introductory **it is** in English) and its frequent omission point to the same basic fronting operation as in "simple" topicalization despite the surface-syntactic differences. It would hardly make sense to consider the copula as the theme of its clause, which would be the case with a "full" verb.
4. I am indebted to Professor Alan Bliss of University College, Dublin, for his invaluable help in the planning of this project.
5. Despite occasional borderline cases, the difference in presuppositions is usually clear enough to warrant the distinction.
6. This conclusion was reached in discussions with both Professor Mac Eoin and Professor Mac Cana. Here, too, Irish has certain oddities which are not important in this context.

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A Global View of the English Language in Ireland

Jeffrey L. Kallen

Background Discussion

The seminar sponsored by the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics, titled, **'The English Language in Ireland'** represents an important turning point in the study of English in this country. It was not that long ago that a well-known writer on linguistic topics was able to state that

> *by the little Englanders we are told that the Irish speak, not English but Anglo-English; yet many educated and cultural Irishmen speak and write the most admirable, if slightly old-fashioned, English. (Partridge 1951: 65.)*

Fortunately, events such as the IRAAL conference show the seriousness with which this field is now taken, and one hopes that this event will be only one of many more gatherings devoted to related topics. During this discussion, I should mention, the term 'Hiberno-English' will be used synonymously with the more cumbersome phrase, 'the English language in Ireland', without prejudice to the rural/urban distinction between 'Hiberno-English' and 'Anglo-Irish' that is sometimes suggested.

The scope of this paper can perhaps be understood best by looking at the term 'global view'. There are two senses in which this term is especially significant. The common-sense meaning suggests that English in Ireland should be seen in a world-wide context that includes not only other varieties of English (e.g., the English of India, North America, or Australia), but other examples of languages in contact (e.g., pidgin and creole languages as well as bilingual communities such as French Canada or Paraguay). A more specialised definition of 'global' derives from the use of this term in linguistic theory, where, in this case, it would be suggested that the analysis of English in Ireland should (a) examine all facets of grammar, i.e., syntax, phonology, morphology, semantics, and discourse phenomena, and (b) be free to examine data from related areas such as child language acquisition (both deviant and normal), second language learning, historical change, and comparative linguistics. Though this paper is concerned more with the geographical and grammatical sense of 'global' than with the sense referring to related areas lying outside the bounds of grammatical theory, it will at times attempt to sketch some of the ways in which research from areas such as second language learning may also elucidate topics found in the study of Hiberno-English.

From the beginning, one may question why the approach developed in this paper puts particular emphasis on the development of linguistic theory, or is addressed to theoretical arguments with implications greater than the subject of English in Ireland alone. In particular, it could be argued that theoretical arguments would be out of place at a conference sponsored by the Irish Association for Applied Linguistics. The theoretical emphasis chosen in this paper is based on an examination of some of the goals of language study in general, and suggests that a dichotomy between 'applied' and 'theoretical' linguistics is not only misleading but counter-productive to the goals of anyone studying in the field of language, whether one is a Professor of Linguistics or a Second Language Curriculum Development Specialist.

Reason to look briefly at linguistic theory before proceeding with the collection or analysis of data comes from an examination of the goals of linguistic inquiry. King (1969: 13) has summarised approaches to the study of language by denoting three levels of inquiry: 'observational adequacy', which develops what he terms 'an account that describes a finite corpus of primary data'; 'descriptive adequacy' which provides a grammar 'that gives a correct account of the primary data and of the speaker's tacit knowledge'; and 'explanatory adequacy', in which 'a linguistic theory (not a grammar) ... provides a principled basis for the selection of descriptively adequate grammars.'

In the context of the English language in Ireland, this division of goals has direct parallels not only in the work which has so far appeared in public, but in work which remains to be done by those interested in the field. Pure description is an essential to any kind of analysis, and much of the published work on Hiberno-English falls into the category of description. One may look at P.L. Henry's survey (Henry 1958) of English in Ireland and note the optimism with which a nationwide survey of, particularly, rural varieties of English is suggested. Regretfully, such a survey has yet to be undertaken, and the linguistic situation in Ireland has changed to an extent that whatever would be studied today would yield a far different picture from the one which might have been found in 1958. Recording and making available speech samples, designed to provide syntactic and morphological data as well as the more traditional phonological and lexical information, is still a vital part of research that must be done. This type of recording is useful in providing basic and objective data from which other analysts may work; in providing data for purposes of historical comparison, both retrospectively and for future diachronic study; and in providing a cultural record of national attributes which may disappear or be preserved in an era of increasing international contact and exchange.

Yet the goal of linguistic inquiry can never be seen in purely

descriptive terms. Even time-honoured techniques such as the use of word lists for phonological elicitation and the plotting of isoglosses, though on the one hand consisting solely of linguistic description, presuppose a theoretical point of view, albeit one which is rarely stated explicitly. Following the completion of some of the classic dialect atlases of British and American English, German, French, etc., Brook (1968: 16), for example, observed that

> *most dialect speakers today are bilingual or multilingual. We should now try to distinguish the various strands that make up the complicated pattern in the dialect of such speakers ... It is well to remember that the older rural dialects are not the only forms of speech that are worthy of study.*

Though Brook's observation was not entirely novel even in 1968, Bailey (1973: 11) was also compelled to note that

> *if cross-hatchings of class, sex, age, and other social differences are superimposed on maps of regional variation (for some given combination of social parameters), the traditional notion of dialect becomes hopelessly inadequate and at war with reality.*

I would suggest that an analysis of the history of dialect study in most countries shows an interest more in the exotic than in the linguistic, by which is meant that the study of dialect has yet to rid itself of the more popular idea which contrasts a 'dialect' with a 'standard' or 'normal' manner of speech. A survey of literature on the English language in Ireland still shows an emphasis on forms, in syntax, phonology, or whatever, that are felt to be distinctively Irish, seen in contrast to some notion of 'standard English.' What Brook, Bailey, and others working with linguistic variation suggest is an important point with which I will deal specifically in this paper — that any variety of speech must be seen not simply in contrast to a 'standard' or to any other variety, but both (a) in its own terms as a set of rules which generate the speech corpus of the native speaker, and (b) as one of a set of interrelated rules which may all have an effect on the multidialectal native speaker. The description of any speech variety would not be complete only in noting 'peculiarities of the dialect,' but must also note the way in which particular features that may be of interest are embedded in an overall context of speech in the community and in the individual. I would suggest that an overemphasis on the 'distinctive' aspects of speech in a variety under study implies erroneously (a) that speakers speak only and always 'in the dialect', and (b) that non-contrastive relations between 'distinctive' varieties and putative standard or general varieties are not of linguistic interest.

If, as I have suggested, pure description cannot validly be seen to be the only goal of linguistic inquiry, and if, too, any kind of descriptive statement must necessarily be seen in a broader theoretical context,

one might well want to suggest a second goal for linguistic inquiry — the provision of explanations as to why observed phenomena are the way they are. Considering Hiberno-English, three reasons are generally given for explaining the particular characteristics of the variety: (1) historical facts relating to the survival of forms brought to Ireland and subsequently lost or changed in England, (2) the influence on English in Ireland of teachers and others in authority for whom English was not their mother tongue, and (3) the influence of prolonged and varying contact with Irish. (For a concise summary see Bliss (1977), but other authors as well.) Often, it seems sufficient to explain particular features of English in Ireland by recourse to one of the three historical factors above. In a sense, these factors provide a type of 'descriptive adequacy', in making arguments of the type that 'A given feature X has arisen "under the influence" of Irish, prior historical formation, or perpetuated error by the non-native speaker.'

Yet the approach which I wish to suggest raises a further series of questions which cannot be answered by recourse to the facts of historical development. Linguistic theory requires adequate description, for without data theories cannot be constructed or evaluated. Likewise, empirically verifiable phenomena (e.g., the presence of two languages in one speech community) must be accounted for in formulating linguistic explanations. But the ultimate goal of linguistic inquiry should not be simply the description of speech or the correlation of observable phenomena. Rather, one hopes by analysis to obtain a greater understanding of the human linguistic faculty and ultimately the structure of the human mind. Concomitantly, linguistic study should facilitate the formulation of universal principles of linguistic organisation and behaviour, and suggest a continuous process of refinement of linguistic theory to account for language and the language-mind relationship.

Having said this much, what linguistic theory can one in fact turn to in order to provide the kind of background which might be useful in the study of Hiberno-English? All theory is, by definition, in a state of continuing development, so it would be impossible to point to any one body of literature or the work of any one author and say that a Theory X had been provided by which all further hypotheses could be developed and evaluated. If our linguistic and geographical orientation is to be global, perhaps, then, our theoretical orientation must also be global. Rather than absorb theoretical approaches without evaluating them, though, some choice must be made as to which general approaches show the greatest promise in providing the most probable explanation for the greatest amount of data in the simplest fashion. Generative grammar, by which is not meant 'Transformational Generative Grammar,' provides a starting point

in defining language as the outcome of a system of rules, internalised by the native speaker of a language for generating an infinite number of utterances from a finite number of units. This system of rules, which Chomsky (1957) termed 'competence,' is not competence in a normative sense — speakers do not have greater or lesser degrees of competence, and deviant speakers, whether speakers of a 'dialect' or those in need of speech therapy, do not lack competence but merely generate language by a system of rules which is different from the system used by other speakers. Generative grammar has freed linguistics from positivist requirements which would otherwise require the detailed study of individual utterances without generalisations of any far-reaching type, and which would prevent exploration in the relationship between the structure of language and the structure of the mind. The generative approach constitutes a diversified field still in the process of development, and is not an orthodoxy which prescribes a narrow set of tools and constructs to the exclusion of all other approaches. While retaining a belief in the importance of a 'global' theoretical view, I would suggest a generative paradigm as a starting point not matched by any other paradigm for its usefulness in guiding research with the aim of establishing universals and exploring the mind-language relationship.

In viewing language as the outcome of rules internalised by native speakers, several claims are made, while others often attached to the basic generative notion are not made. First, not all generative grammars are transformational grammars — transformations refer to a specific construction in generative grammar, and while transformations may provide the best means to generalise between related utterances (e.g., 'Linguists eat exotic food' and 'Exotic food is eaten by linguists'), they may not be the only generative rules which may do so. Brame (1978), for example, specifically denies the existence of transformations, but is clearly generative in approach, specifying that surface structures must be composed of units required by abstract rules generating grammatical structures and preventing ungrammatical utterances. Generative grammar, then, may have recourse to transformations, but may also write rules describing grammatical competence without using transformations. Second, a generative approach is not to be equated simply with the notion that language is 'creative' or even governed by rules — generative grammar makes predictions about the types of rules which may be suggested, the formal structure of these rules, and the means by which rules may interact and operate to produce surface utterances. It is an integral part of grammatical theory to favour some analyses over others on a principled basis, and a part of linguistic study to evaluate proposals which may be made concerning rule structure and interaction. The ultimate goal of universal explanation and exploration of the language-mind relationship is always of prime importance.

Given, for the purpose of this paper at least, that generative grammar offers insight into the nature of language in general, can it be of help in the study of the English language in Ireland? The answer at this time must remain a qualified yes. Ó Murchú (1967: 215) observed that

> *before the development of Transformational Grammar, there was no really efficient technique available for the description of inter-dialectal variation in syntactical structure.*

Generative grammar — transformational or otherwise — has seemed to offer a valuable tool for the analysis of language and, hence, linguistic variation. Yet generative grammar has, classically speaking, concerned itself only with data from what Chomsky (1965: 3) termed the 'ideal speaker-listener in a completely homogeneous speech community.' Just as the argument against traditional dialectology rests on the observation that dialects are rarely, if ever, 'pure' in their distribution across geographic and social variables, an argument against the 'ideal speaker-listener' notion can be made by the observation, readily verified empirically, that few, if any, speech communities are linguistically homogeneous. The lack of ideal speech communities in this sense does not invalidate the generative approach to linguistics, but it does suggest that generative grammar may not offer specific tools which are useful in the study of linguistic variation.

The contradiction one faces is thus as follows: on the one hand, generative grammar provides important insights into the operation of language and a valuable means of exploring universal principles of linguistic organisation. On the other hand, generativists have yet to provide specific theoretical constructions which may be of direct use in the study of Hiberno-English as a subfield of linguistics. This contradiction is a further reason for suggesting a 'global view' of the problem. A theoretical basis is necessary for inquiry, yet standard linguistic theory does not readily offer a mechanism to account for a situation like that found in Hiberno-English, characterised not only by bilingual contact and historical isolation from sources of linguistic change in Britain, but by multidialectism brought on by intra- and international travel as well as communication via television, radio, and cinema. A global view would call for the incorporation of explicit theory into empirical research, and for the extension of the limits of standard generative theory into the study of linguistic variation and relations among varieties and languages.

Independence and Dependence in Dialect Relations

Luelsdorff (1975), in a summary of generative work on dialectology, has described what he terms an 'Independence Principle,' in which

grammars are constructed without recourse to data from other dialects, and a 'Dependence Principle,' in which dialect forms are related from common underlying forms by a series of rules applicable to individual dialects where appropriate. Conflicting results are obtained in the following analysis. (Luelsdorff 1975: 22-23. Luelsdorff's phonological notation, which is not consistent with other notation in this paper, is retained in this discussion.)

Black English Vernacular (BEV), a type of American English associated with black people of lower socio-economic status, generally shows a lax /I/ before a nasal consonant, where Standard American English shows /E/. The following data illustrate this distribution:

	Std.Am.E.	BEV
'pen'	pEn	pIn
'hem'	hEm	hIm

According to Luelsdorff, the Dependence Principle would require a statement that BEV has a rule in which

$$E \longrightarrow I / \longrightarrow [+nasal]$$

i.e., underlying E is realised on the surface as I in the environment preceding a nasal.

An Independence Principle, on the other hand, simply states that BEV has an underlying /I/ where Standard Americal English has an underlying /E/. Luelsdorff (**ibid.**) ultimately favours the application of the Independence Principle, preferring to conclude 'that there are underlying differences in the phonologies of Standard and Black English.' In preferring the Independence Principle to a Dependence Principle, Luelsdorff (1975: 21) observes that

> *A sharp distinction should be made between writing grammars underlying the speech behaviour of individual speakers* (=grammars) *and statements relating the grammars of individual speakers* (=meta-grammars). *The goal of the former is the accurate and complete description of the linguistic competence of selected members of the speech community. The goal of the latter is to relate these grammars in an accurate and illuminating way.*

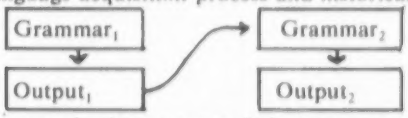
The logic of the notion of linguistic competence would seem to argue for an independence principle along the lines suggested by Luelsdorff, perhaps, yet a linguistic theory should, I would suggest, also allow the analyst to make a comparative statement noting correspondence among the grammars of different speakers. A crucial distinction is made, though, in recognising that this comparative statement has no reality as far as competence is concerned — it does not provide a means to account for the use of language by actual speakers.

To transfer Luelsdorff's suggestions to the case of the English language in Ireland, one would suggest that Hiberno-English cannot be seen primarily in opposition to other varieties (e.g., 'Standard English' or 'British English') or in opposition to Irish. The following example, from Henry (1977: 33), chosen nearly at random from one of many works which follow a similar approach, illustrates this point. Consider the following 'equivalent' expressions:

(1) Anglo-Irish: 'The bate of him ishn't in it.'
(2) Irish: 'Níl a bhualadh ann.'
(3) Std. E.: 'He has no equal.'

Sentence (1) would safely, I think, be seen as distinctively Irish, specifically the nomimal construction 'the beat of him' and the prepositional 'in it.' A generally accepted explanation for a sentence such as (1) would be that it is derived 'under the influence of Irish,' comparing (in (2)), the nominal 'a bhualadh,' literally 'his beat,' and suggesting that the Irish preposition 'ann' would be translated as 'in it.' Sentence (3) is seen in marked contrast.

This picture of the influence of Irish, however, may run counter to the fundamental concern of linguistics with the competence of the native speaker. It is logically impossible to suggest that a speaker using Hiberno-English who does not speak Irish with a fluency liable to create synchronic interference is in fact acting under the influence of Irish. Historically, it may be true that phrases and translations or calques may come into one language from another as part of the language contact situation, yet what is equally significant is not the historical source of the construction, but its synchronic status. For a borrowing to survive in a language or to extend itself beyond the bilingual community (which a phrase like 'in it' has clearly done), it must be interpreted by speakers as being an integral part of their own competence. What the analyst then seeks to look for is the specific structure and rule-derivation of all surface structures, without recourse to the structures of other languages or historically related forms. Lighfoot (1979: 148), in a discussion based in part on the work of Andersen (1973), illustrates the relationships among grammars in the language acquisition process and historical change as below:

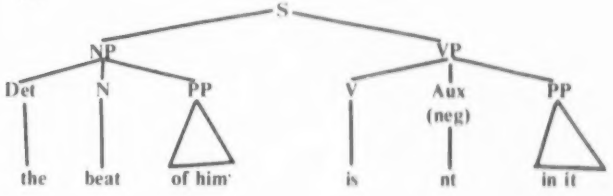


In other words, the grammar of a language at a given time (G_1) serves as an input for the linguistic output only at the given time (O_1). This output (O_1), not the grammar (G_1), serves as the input for the construction of grammar at the next stage (G_2). This grammar (G_2), but neither (G_1) nor (O_1), serves as the input for the output (O_2). Neither the grammar not the surface structure of the earlier stage underlies the output of the later stage — only the synchronic

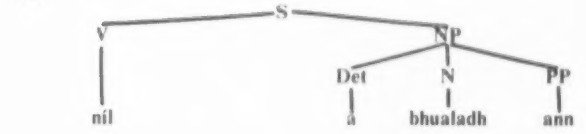
grammar of the appropriate stage underlies speech. By extension, in Hiberno-English, neither the grammar nor the surface structures of Irish would underly Hiberno-English except in cases, possibly, of synchronic bilingual interference. The 'influence of Irish' is to be seen in the way that Irish surface structures may have affected the structure of the underlying Hiberno-English grammar.

The above argument — for separating the competence of the native speaker from considerations introduced by other languages or historically related forms — is an overall theoretical consideration with specific relevance to the Irish case. A second argument in favour of an English-based analysis of Sentence (1) is found by looking at the specific structures involved in this example. Consider the following tree diagrams of (1) and (2):

(1)



(2)



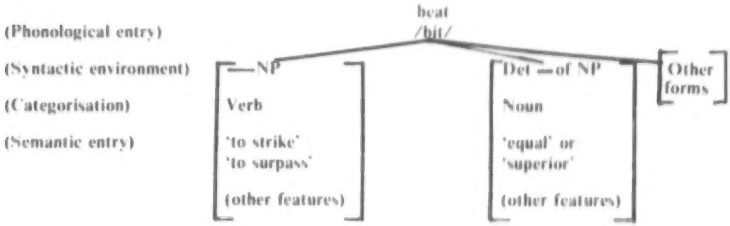
Clearly, (1) is a sentence of English, while (2) is not. Structural parallels to (1) abound in English, e.g., (4) 'A picture of him isn't in the book,' (5) 'The likes of him aren't in Chicago,' or (6) 'The riches of Croesus aren't in Portumna.' No verb-initial parallels to (2) can be found in English.

The Lexicon and Dialect Differences

Any kind of structural analysis shows examples such as (1) to be cases of English generated, from an abstract point of view, in a relatively non-distinctive fashion. Yet the surface structure of (1) is clearly different from what would be found in other varieties of English, so the question still arises as to how one can account for such differences. In the case discussed here, recourse can be made to the

lexicon as defined in the generative model. In addition to the better-known syntactic and phonological components of generative grammar, there is included also a lexicon, in which units are stored with a phonological representation, a semantic representation, and information concerning the distribution of units in sentences. Though neglected in the early days of generative grammar, the lexicon has become an area of increasing importance, particularly since Chomsky (1965) and as evidenced in collections such as CLS (1978).

Following the model proposed by Hust (1976, 1978), I would propose a branching tree diagram in which the apex contains the phonological, syntactic, and semantic features common to all forms of an entry, while descending branches contain features specific to related but distinct entries, as a lexical means of accounting for examples such as (1). In this example, a lexical entry for 'beat' in Hiberno-English might be the following:



To generate (1), then, a lexical insertion rule in the syntactic component allows for insertion of the second node in the above diagram in the appropriate syntactic environment. This node shares some features with other forms, but is not found in some other varieties of English. A phonological rule converting /i/ to [e] in this and some other Hiberno-English words may then operate.

Further research would be necessary to refine lexical entries such as the one proposed for 'beat' here, but the general approach is one I would suggest. In this analysis, basic structures found in dialects of a language may be relatively consistent, yet alternations in the lexicon may produce surface structures that differ visibly from dialect to dialect and, in a case such as (1), may resemble surface structures of another language.

A similar analysis may hold for the phrase 'in it.' The syntactic structure of any dialect of English allows for the combination 'in it' to occur in some forms, as in, (7) 'I looked him up in the phone book but he wasn't in it,' or (8) 'I'd like to be included in it.' The 'it' of (1), however, differs significantly in that 'it' does not refer to any other NP. Syntactic parallels, in which 'it' can be used with a preposition in a non-anaphoric sense, are to be found in other English

constructions as well, e.g., (9) 'We're really up against it now,' or (10) 'Come off it!'. The 'it' of (9) and (10) refers to no specific noun, but functions as a particle in part of a prepositional phrase closely linked to a verb phrase. The function of 'in it' in Hiberno-English is roughly equivalent to what Jackendoff (1977: 79) terms "adverbs" without -ly such as **here, there, outside, downstairs, beforehand,** and **afterwards.**'

The foregoing examples suggest that in language or dialect contact neither base nor surface structures are borrowed from variety to variety. I have suggested thus far that a prime means of interlanguage influence may be found in the organisation of the lexicon — that changes (1) enter into a dialect or language through the lexicon, and that (2) in some cases lexical changes may be extended through interaction with the syntactic component to alter syntactic structures. Similar processes may occur in the realm of phonology. One syntactic example of extension may be the Irish construction using 'after,' as in (11) 'He is after getting the paper,' or (12) 'She was after her lunch,' in which it may be suggested that 'after' has now acquired the syntactic subcategorisation that allows it to be placed in the main verb or auxiliary phrase, and that a reanalysis of the rules governing verb phrases and their constituents has taken place in such varieties of Hiberno-English. It is unduly complicated and counter to the notion of linguistic competence to explain this use of 'after' via Irish **tar éis.** Rather, a more comprehensive approach suggests that differences in verbal structure in Hiberno-English are to be found scattered throught the lexicon, syntactic component, and semantic component of the grammar.

Non-Grammatical Approaches

A second point which I should like to make in discussing a 'global view' actually leads away from the grammatical analysis proposed thus far. Lightfoot (1979: 405) has called for the analytical separation of 'changes necessitated by various principles of grammar ... and those provoked by extra-grammatical factors.' One device which cuts across levels of phonology, syntax, and semantics, and which correlates linguistic variables with non-linguistic variables quantifiable by empirical observation is the 'implicational scale.' As pointed out by Luelsdorff (1975: 18), implicational scales are not statements about individual grammars, but rather a means of comparing individual grammars — what Luelsdorff terms 'metagrammars.'

The following duscussion illustrates the application of implicational scaling, using a scale for Jamaican English developed by DeCamp (1971) and discussed by Luelsdorff (1975: 17-18). Certain critical variables are isolated and assigned plus or minus values, plus values indicating non-inclusion in a 'creolised' variety of English, minus values indicating creole status. The following list is illustrative:

+A	child	-A	pikni
+B	eat	-B	nyam
+C	θ /t distinction	-C	t
+D	ð /d distinction	-D	d
+E	granny	-E	nana
+F	didn't	-F	no ben

Each speaker in a speech community is given a profile of plus and minus values for each variable. Judgments of values may be based on habitual use of judgment of grammaticality by the speaker, depending on the approach taken. Once each speaker has been given a profile, all speakers in the sample are compared for interrelationships, as in the following:

Speaker:	1	+A +B +C	
	2	--A +B --C	
	3	--A +B --C	
	4	--A --B --C	
	5	+A +B +C	, etc.
	6	+A +B --C	
	7	--A +B --C	

The arrangement of different variables across speakers is then shown in an implicational scale, in which those speakers with the greatest co-occurrence of variables are grouped closest to each other, ranging, in the process, from minimal to maximal co-occurrence of 'creole' features. In this example, such a continuum would begin as below:

Variable:	+D	-D+C	-C+A	-A+F
Speaker:	5	1	6	2

This continuum would be interpreted to say that Speaker 5 possessed a plus value for variable D, while all speakers to the right on the scale possessed a minus value. The next speaker, Speaker 1, would share the feature +C with the speaker on the left (Speaker 5), but would have a minus value for D. All other speakers would have minus values for variable C. Speaker 6, then, would have minus values for variables D and C, but a plus value for A. Speakers to the right would have minus values for A, D, and C. Such an ordering can thus show empirically verifiable implications, e.g., if a speaker uses the word 'nyam' (variable B), then the speaker will also use 'pikni,' 'nana', and other words or features associated with minus values on the list of variables. Such correlations of variables can then be matched with non-linguistic variables such as age, income, social status, etc., to yield a profile of linguistic and non-linguistic relationships. In contrast to the generative approach found in the syntactic example given earlier, implicational scales do not discuss the competence of individual speakers — rather, they are a device which can be used to

note inter-speaker regularities, substituting in a more precise fashion for cross-speaker empirical data obtained in traditional dialect study.

Such 'metagrammatical' statements may well be necessary in writing adequate explanations of variation phenomena. In studying Hiberno-English, features might be arranged in a scale with implications for identifying an Irish vs. non-Irish continuum of English varieties. Bliss (1976: 21-22), for example, suggests that 'yoke' denoting a thing in general is peculiarly Irish, and that 'gas,' as in 'It was a great gas,' is also not to be found elsewhere. In terms of an implicational scale, 'yoke' might be seen as clearly Irish and widely spead across space and social parameters. 'Gas' in the above sense, though, while not, perhaps, found in England, is found in the U.S. with virtually the same meaning. An implicational scale could reflect that 'gas' is not English, but is shared by at least two 'overseas' varieties of English. Similarly, mention could be made in an implicational scale of the many varieties of English (including many types of Hiberno-English) which have lost a /θ/ -/t/ and /ð/-/d/ distinction in contact situations. A network of scales relating different clearly defined variables could show important relationships among many more varieties of a single language than is otherwise possible.

Implicational scales could also be developed within Ireland to suggest relationships among different varieties using only Hiberno-English data. Such an approach may present a more realistic picture of the description of the English language in Ireland than discussion in monolithic terms such as 'common Hiberno-English,' 'the Northern isogloss,' or 'the Kerry accent.' A great deal more research will be necessary to establish critical variables and their relations.

Conclusion — Towards a Global View

From the point of view of linguistic theory, it is not sufficient to stop at the observation that English in Ireland either exhibits certain forms not found in England but found there at an earlier time, or that certain Hiberno-English forms parallel those in Irish. This insufficiency rests on two main grounds: (1) that linguistic description must account for use by a speaker at a given time — a speaker who has acquired language without knowledge of its history or, quite often, of any other language, and (2) that examples of putative conservatism and bilingual influence are so widespread in the world that a more adequate description of any particular case (e.g., Ireland) might require a theory based on universal tendencies in language spread, isolation, and interaction. To pick out two of many examples, one might look at the case of Jamaican English or South American Spanish. Cassidy and LePage (1961: 19-24), for example, cite many processes in the development of Jamaican English which parallel those discussed by Bliss (1976: 18ff; 1977; 1979) for Hiberno-

English, e.g., local innovation, local meanings attached to words used elsewhere with different meaning, the use of items which have died out in other English-speaking areas, and the influence of other languages. In discussing South American Spanish, Blanch (1968) gives a review of arguments concerning the development of various national varieties, centering on theoretical and social controversy concerning the relative importance in the development of 'overseas' varieties of structures in the grammar of Spanish vs. the influence of native languages. Ultimately, Blanch's discussion tends to favour the development and use of Spanish-based and universal explanations over 'substratum' accounts. These and hundreds of similar discussions around the world suggest that a large body of data may await correlation with observations of the Irish experience.

What, then, is a 'global view' of the English language in Ireland as I would define it? I would summarise this perspective with three major points: (1) The intuitions of a native speaker of English or any language must be accounted for by synchronic rules. The 'conservatism' of Hiberno-English may be discussed in a historical treatment, but the synchronic vitality of any variety spoken is of paramount importance for the linguist. Similarly, influence or interference from Irish may account for features in the corpus of a particular individual whose first tongue is Irish and who is learning English as a second language, or in a historical discussion of such individuals, but it is not linguisticaliy valid to discuss such interference as part of the synchronic rule system of a mother-tongue Hiberno-English speaker. Internal features of English may economically coincide with a possible interpretation of surface structures in Irish — the possible interpretation of Irish data made by present or historical bilingual speakers may be influenced by the degree of harmony with features in the abstract English system. (2) Rules which are proposed to account for any features of English in Ireland should at least be in broad harmony with a major body of linguistic theory — Hiberno-English rules may offer refinements or arguments within a theory, but explanations and descriptions should be undertaken with a clearly expressed theoretical basis. (3) The data available for analysing English in Ireland should not be limited to those forms which are felt to be 'peculiar' to Ireland, nor just to forms which are found in Ireland. Restriction of data to Ireland may miss identical or parallel forms and processes occurring in other areas of the world, while concentration on 'characteristic' Hiberno-English forms commits the linguistic fallacy of not placing these form in the broader context or continuum in which they inevitably occur.

Finally, I would suggest that a 'global view', in which attention is paid to all realms of grammar and discourse phenomena; in which linguistic solutions are developed to discuss bilingual relations in the generation of English in Ireland; in which the social and other non-linguistic variables that may have bearing on language are correlated

with precisely-defined linguistic variables; in which English in Ireland is seen in context with other varieties of English but not just in contrast with a supposed 'standard' English; and in which processes occurring in Ireland can be compared within an adequate theoretical framework to similar processes occurring in other languages, will greatly facilitate research that will yield both a richer and more realistic understanding of the English language in Ireland, and that will make a significant contribution to an overall theory of universal tendencies in language diffusion and interaction, and to a theory of grammar and the language-mind relationship.

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